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# *The* AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## The Social Responsibilities of the Historian\*

CONYERS READ

THE impelling force that brings us together tonight is a common interest in history. For some of us this interest is a professional one, for a large number of us it is a cultural one, for all of us it is what I shall call a pragmatic one. There is the history we disseminate, the history we absorb, the history we live by. I intend to consider tonight the first and the third of these categories and the relationships between them—that is to say the responsibilities of those who disseminate history, to those whose pattern of the past is one of the most important factors in their present behavior and in their future plans and hopes.

It may be well at the outset to define history as I use the word. I take it to mean the memory, recorded or unrecorded, of past human experience. I call it a memory in order to include within its scope those past experiences, particularly our personal past experiences, which never do get written down though their influence upon our individual lives is often very profound. I do not differentiate between different kinds of experience. It often becomes nec-

\*Presidential address delivered at the annual dinner of the American Historical Association on December 29, 1949.

essary, though it is never desirable, by reason of the enormous amount of material involved, to divide and subdivide the field and to specialize in intellectual or political or economic or scientific or aesthetic experience. But this division is of course artificial and arbitrary, just as artificial and arbitrary as any one of the infinite number of human devices designed to make learning manageable.

For the great majority of us in the profession history is a bread and butter question. There are exceptions of course. A few of us have been financially lucky in the selection of our parents, or in the selection of our wives. A few of us like James Ford Rhodes have created by our own efforts a condition of affluence which enables us in the afternoon of our days to approach Clio without mercenary impulses. But for most of us in the profession, history is a means of getting a living. One way or other we exchange our hard-won historical knowledge for board and lodging, with a morsel, generally a very small morsel, of the amenities of life to boot. By and large we are teachers in educational institutions and our dissemination of history takes place in classrooms. As such we attach a great deal of importance to academic insignia, caps and gowns, Ph.D. degrees, and the like. Our attitude toward those who undertake to perform our functions without these hallmarks is likely to be a condescending one. And yet a great deal of history is being disseminated these days by those outside the guild. I wonder, for example, whether anyone in the profession has done anything like so much in recent years as Raymond Swing for the historical education of America at large. Certainly the sum total of all who have drowsed in our classes is but a handful compared with the hordes who have hung upon his words.

Within the profession our contribution divides itself between what we teach and what we write. Of course, most of us do not write at all. It might be better to say that we do not publish at all. Those of us who do are disposed to maintain that we teach as well by writing as by word of mouth. I do not deny this, but I think it is generally true that our writing is designed for quite a different purpose and directed to quite a different circle than our classroom cerebrations. I speak now of the average one of us who writes, leaving out of account those few among us who can command a large reading public and those of us whose writing is for the most part an extension, one might almost call it a precipitation, of our classroom work in syllabi and textbooks. Personally I attach a great deal of importance to textbook writing and wish it were better done. It is history in the large, and history in the large has much greater social significance than history in the little. But most of us write history in the little. Our literary output is confined to a monograph or two on



subjects the social significance of which is to say the least many times removed. We are lucky if our efforts command the attention of a hundred readers, and even in that select company a considerable proportion make the effort because of their interest in the author rather than in the subject. We still flatter ourselves that those who do read serve like spores of yeast to leaven the whole mass. It may well be so, though one may venture to inquire whether analogous spores scattered by word of mouth in classrooms are not equally potent. These concentric circles of influence, like ripples, are difficult to measure. They vary in size and range with the size of the missile which created the disturbance in the first place. Probably it is safe to say that they cause no major inundations on the remoter beaches of the world. Compared with those who read our monographs those who sit in our classrooms are much the more numerous and probably much the more malleable company. And those who read, read about the minutiae while those who listen scan, as it were, the great panorama of the past, hear, as it were, the reverberating footsteps of whole civilizations on the march. From the point of view of the social significance of history it is not hard to decide in which capacity we perform the greater service.

And yet, paradoxically enough, our station in the profession and our progress in the profession depend rather upon what we write than upon how well we teach. Though we speak with the tongues of men and of angels it availeth us little in competition with the energetic fellow who, year after year, pulls the old lecture notes out of the old pork barrel in order to save time for the composition of special studies which few will read, fewer still long remember, and which will probably be rendered obsolete by some other energetic fellow working over the same ground, plowing perhaps a little deeper and screening the soil a little more carefully. I do not discredit this form of intellectual exercise though it often seems to me that we pay a considerable price for it. My complaint is that it commands such high priority—that those whose interests and whose talents run in somewhat different channels receive scant recognition. Good teaching, at the college level anyway, is relatively speaking unrecognized, and since this is so no really systematic effort is made to develop its potentialities. What, for example, is being done at the graduate school level in the way of teacher training for those who will inevitably make their major contribution to the commonweal as teachers? In all the universities with which I have at one time or another been connected, I have noted in the main a disdainful attitude toward schools of pedagogy. The position seems to be that though teacher training is regarded as essential in the lower schools it becomes a mere matter for ribaldry at the higher alti-

tudes. I seem to detect a reflection of this point of view in a recent resolution of the Council of this Association to the effect that "the examination of textbooks [is] outside the function of the Association."<sup>1</sup> It ought to be pointed out of course that the resolution referred to textbooks for use in the schools, but when I remember that twenty-two years ago a committee appointed by the Association inaugurated the most comprehensive investigation of the teaching of the social sciences in the schools ever attempted, and spent something over \$300,000 in pursuit of that objective, I wonder why we are now disclaiming responsibility for what was then one of our major concerns. Certainly what we do at the upper levels, if it is to have its maximum social significance, must be reflected in what history is dispensed to the great mass of history students at the lower levels. Never perhaps has there been so much talk about the philosophy of history and so little concern about the performance of those tasks in which any kind of philosophy can really be brought to bear.

One of the wisest and wittiest men who ever spoke from this chair chose for his theme "Every Man His Own Historian." It is almost a sacrilege to attempt to summarize that brilliant discourse. But the essence of it was, I suppose, that the day-by-day actions of every man are based upon his knowledge of the past and his application of that knowledge to his present behavior and his future plans. He goes to bed in the darkness, confident that the sun will rise again as it always has risen and that he will rise with it in the light. He fills his bin with coal or his tank with oil, confident that winter will follow summer in the inveterate march of the seasons. He puts his money in a bank, confident that he can draw it out when he wants it, and so on. There is no point in belaboring the obvious. But actually all that we do and all that we plan is conditioned by what we call experience, our own experience or our observation of the experience of man or nature. What we mean by wisdom as distinct from learning is the ability to apply past experience to present problems. In its highest development, as John Milton has observed, "Old experience do attain to something like prophetic strain."

So when we teach history we teach those who are in their microcosms, their little worlds, already historians. Though no doubt they are unconscious of the fact, they continually and critically scrutinize the past. Their motive is of course a purely pragmatismal one. But it is there, and, being there, it profoundly influences their attitude toward history in the large. This fact ought to be a great asset to us in our teaching of the subject.

It should be observed also that the average man is completely possessed

<sup>1</sup> *American Historical Review*, LIII (April, 1948), 688.

with the idea of progress, of getting ahead. That is perhaps the basis of his pathetic belief in the virtues of formal education. He sees it as a means of getting ahead. We may speculate as long as we like about concepts of progress among the intellectuals, but there is no doubt whatever about its prevalence among the rank and file. Probably every man has a rather sketchy idea of what he means by progress. He means at least this much—that it is possible by his own efforts to exchange his present estate for a better one. This idea of a better estate implies a value judgment, some criteria which we can apply to measure progress. It implies an end in view and means relevant to that end. It is progress toward something.

We may then as teachers of history confidently assume three well-established ideas in the minds of our students: (1) the idea of experience as a guide to action; (2) the idea of progress as an incentive to action; (3) the idea of criteria as measures of progress.

It is the rare bird who is interested in the past simply as the past—a world remote, apart, complete, such as Michael Oakeshott has envisaged.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately in our teaching we tend to focus our attention on the rare birds. The urge to perpetuate our kind is almost biological in its intensity. At the college level anyway we think of teaching history not enough in its broader implications and too much in terms of recruiting the ranks of historians. Probably not one of every hundred in our undergraduate classes ever intends to become a professional historian, but for that one we all too frequently leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness. It is the ninety and nine with whom I am here concerned. There are plenty of champions for the one among those present.

In the long run the teaching of history has to justify itself in social terms, that is to say in terms demonstrably significant to the average citizen. This will be increasingly true as education at all levels becomes increasingly a public charge. Your taxpayer is a pragmatical fellow. As likely as not he will put the hackneyed question, "What is the good of history anyway?" It is a pertinent question which, in the professional interest, we dare not evade. If we produce an answer which leads the taxpayer to conclude that history butters no bread, he may decide that in that case it shall furnish no bread and butter for the historian.

Half a century ago a certain rich man built for himself a palatial residence on the outskirts of Philadelphia. It was in the grand manner. Even the spigots of the bathtubs were plated with gold—all of it designed simply for the greater comfort of this certain rich man and his progeny. Today, that same mansion has been converted into a chemical research laboratory. In some such

<sup>2</sup> Michael Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes* (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 86 ff.

fashion the ivory towers we have erected for our private enjoyment, if they are to survive, must be converted into research laboratories. Learning without reference to social living has no more claim upon social support than any other form of self-indulgence.

But there is much more to the matter than that. Historians and their critics have long been conducting a running fight between those who contemplate the past as an objective reality, which by diligence and dispassionate judgment can be described as it actually happened, and those who see the past simply as a projection of the ideas and interests of the present upon the accumulated data of remembered experience. The former group envisages the past as something finished and complete and unchanged; the latter group sees it as through a glass darkly, a colored glass at once translucent and reflective, in which the light which comes through is not clearly distinguishable from the light which is thrown back.

It would be very rash for anyone from this chair to pronounce a final judgment on a matter still *sub judice*. We can, however, distinguish between the accumulation of data and the selection and arrangement of data, between the factual basis for the judgment and the judgment itself. And it can hardly be denied that every act of selection and every act of arrangement constitutes a judgment and implies the criteria for a judgment. In the accumulation of data we may I think without dispute agree that the utmost care and all the paraphernalia of exact research should be applied to the sifting of the true from the false, the probable from the improbable. In this field of labor a great deal of our historical research now lies. We are busy, most of us, assembling the reliable data for the synthesis. The difficulties begin to appear when as historians we attempt the synthesis; and, contrary to widespread opinion, this is an act which most of us habitually perform not in books but in classrooms, from the primary grades to postgraduate courses. There by selection, arrangement, and particularly by emphasis we impose the pattern. It is idle to deny that the pattern we impose is profoundly influenced not only by our personal idiosyncrasies but by the whole climate of opinion in which we live. That is why history has to be rewritten for every generation. We ask different questions of the past from those our fathers asked, emphasizing considerations which our fathers ignored, and ignoring considerations which our fathers held to be of paramount importance. The older historians move in never-ending march from our studies to our attics and from our attics to our dustbins. If we regard them at all it is rather as recorders of the times in which they lived than of the times of which they professed to write. The few who survive on any other basis owe more to their style than to their substance. We have

to face the sad fact that our cherished monographs, if by any chance they escape the grim reaper, will someday be examined simply as interesting examples of the eccentricities of American historians in the mid-twentieth century.

The changing interpretations of the past have on the whole arisen less from the discovery of new facts than from the imposition of new interpretations on old facts. Compare, for example, St. Thomas Aquinas with Edward Gibbon or Thomas Babington Macaulay with Karl Marx. It makes a lot of difference whether the historian approaches the past as a Christian zealot or as a skeptic, or as a good Whig or as a good Socialist. It makes a good deal of difference not only to you and me but to those uncounted thousands who have formulated and are still formulating their ideas about human progress in terms of their interpretation of the past. Are we, for example, mere implementations of biological urges destined to no more significant end than the banquet chamber of the earthworms, or are we divinely created in accordance with a divine purpose and containing within ourselves the potentialities of eternal life? Our answer to this question will have a profound influence upon our personal and social behavior. At this point history impinges very definitely upon the basic problems of modern society. Totalitarian governments have been quick to realize that fact and they have proceeded to impose their patterns not only upon their political and economic organizations but upon their whole cultural life. History under Hitler and Mussolini was not what it had been; history, to say nothing of music and all the arts, under Stalin is not what it used to be. We begin to find ourselves in a world in which the Thomist, the Fascist, the Nazi, the Communist, together with the unorganized hordes of cynics and skeptics, each produces and endorses his own version of how we came to be what we are. The matter extends even further than that, for their history inevitably indicates trends which they expect to be projected into the remote future. The ultimate fruit is implicit in the seed or, to apply an old saw, as the twig is bent, the tree is inclined. This fact may be distasteful to us, but I think it is beyond dispute. Therein, I believe, lies the social responsibility of the historian, by which I mean anyone who undertakes to interpret the past to the present. I emphatically include novelists and playwrights and above all radio commentators.

That being so, then what part are we as historians to play in what everybody is calling education for democracy? The matter is not altogether in our hands. At the public school level there is a considerable amount of control exercised over our history textbooks, particularly our textbooks in American history. Those historians who seek to enter that highly competitive and highly

lucrative market must conform to certain standards, exposing themselves the while, if not to a visit from the secret police, to that even more dreadful fate, the premature death of their brainchild from lack of support. One can afford to be dull, if one has good friends at court, but one cannot afford to be unorthodox, at least not when the merits of democracy are in question.

But the issue is more fundamental than loaves and fishes even if loaves and fishes come near the center of our private perplexities. The issue really is, do we accept the idea of control in principle? Stated concretely, in a world of conflicting ideologies, in which past trends are important factors in determining present judgments, shall we assert our right not only to impose our own interpretations upon the past but to propagate that interpretation through the classroom, the press, and the radio? In these terms the issue becomes part of the larger issue between freedom and regimentation.

We accept, and probably for the most part approve, a large measure of regimentation in almost every other area, but we still cling manfully to freedom in speech and worship. To be sure we impose restraints upon religious practices which seem to us to conflict with other social considerations. We deny polygamy to the Mormon and the suttee to the Hindu. And we impose restraints upon freedom of speech, and the radio and the press, when the exercise of freedom threatens our individual reputations, our moral standards, or the violent overthrow of our government. Shall we stop there? If we have learned anything at all from the experience of the last twenty-five years it is that words are weapons, often the most dangerous type of weapons. Dr. Goebbels understood that, Mr. Molotov understands it. The mental and moral distraction of the French people created by skillful propaganda in 1938-39 was certainly one of the chief causes of their collapse in 1940. We may maintain if we like that the Anglo-Saxon breed is impervious to influences of that sort. But evidently our Communist friends do not think so.

In the end, we assure ourselves, the truth will prevail. But what about in the meantime? When Milton wrote his *Areopagitica*, when Locke wrote his *Essay on Government*, even when John Stuart Mill wrote his *Essay on Liberty*, the potential threat of revolution could still serve as a check upon despotism. But revolution is now almost out of the question. The powers in the hands of government are too overwhelming. Barricades belong to the days of cavalry, not of tanks and machine guns. And those who control the strategic centers of power are in a position not only to prevent revolt but even to prevent remonstrance. There are some grounds for believing that they may even control the very processes of thought. Heroics will not avail us.

One man with a dream, at pleasure,  
Shall go forth and conquer a crown;  
And three with a new song's measure,  
Can trample an empire down.

The music makers like to think this may be so, but it is a long journey from the song to the empire, and the obstacles in the way are so formidable that years of servitude may intervene between the dream and its realization.

We are, as Karl Mannheim has observed,<sup>3</sup> living in an age of transition from *laissez faire* to a planned society in which we will either be ruled by a dictatorship or by a government democratically controlled. The age we are leaving, the liberal age if you like, was characterized by a plurality of aims and values and by a neutral attitude toward the main issues of life. In that age neutrality went so far that we ceased to believe, out of mere fairness, in our own objectives. Confronted by such alternatives as Mussolini and Hitler and last of all Stalin have imposed, we must clearly assume a militant attitude if we are to survive. The antidote to bad doctrine is better doctrine, not neutralized intelligence. We must assert our own objectives, define our own ideals, establish our own standards and organize all the forces of our society in support of them. Discipline is the essential prerequisite of every effective army whether it march under the Stars and Stripes or under the Hammer and Sickle. We have to fight an enemy whose value system is deliberately simplified in order to achieve quick decisions. And atomic bombs make quick decisions imperative. The liberal neutral attitude, the approach to social evolution in terms of dispassionate behaviorism will no longer suffice. Dusty answers will not satisfy our demands for positive assurances. Total war, whether it be hot or cold, enlists everyone and calls upon everyone to assume his part. The historian is no freer from this obligation than the physicist.

Mankind has always sought out transcendental sanctions for his mores. If left to his own devices he creates a whole mythology to justify them. Hence Moses on Mt. Sinai, hence the Petrine theory. Religion in the past met an imperative demand for a pattern of life which had well-defined standards and a clear objective. It provided, as Whitehead has pointed out,<sup>4</sup> a vision of something beyond, behind and within the present flux of immediate things. Basically the religious sanction took a historical form. It was something which happened in the remote past, some specific act or word which made manifest the ways of God to man. In course of time this miraculous imperative was confirmed and strengthened by continuing acceptance and approval so that

<sup>3</sup> Karl Mannheim, *Diagnosis of Our Time* (London, 1943), *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Alfred N. Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (New York, 1925), chap. xii.



even when a less credulous age rejected the miracle it accepted the force of prescriptive right. Mankind still looks to the past to sustain his patterns of the present. If historians, in their examination of the past, represent the evolution of civilization as haphazard, without direction and without progress, offering no assurance that mankind's present position is on the highway and not on some dead end, then mankind will seek for assurance in a more positive alternative whether it be offered from Rome or from Moscow.

This sounds like the advocacy of one form of social control as against another. In short, it is. But I see no alternative in a divided world. Probably in any planned world we can never be altogether free agents, even with our tongue and our pen. The important thing is that we shall accept and endorse such controls as are essential for the preservation of our way of life. This surely does not mean the support of any inert status quo in a rapidly changing world where institutions must continually be adjusted to changing social needs. It does mean that we recognize certain fundamental values as beyond dispute. These values we must define as precisely as may be and must defend against all assaults, historical or otherwise.

There is no menace to essential freedoms in this concept of control. Quite the contrary. It simply recognizes the fact that freedom can survive only if it goes hand in hand with a deep sense of social responsibility, particularly among those whose business is education in any form and at any level. This need not imply any deliberate distortion of the past in the interests of any ideology. Always it will be our obligation as historians to consider and present developing civilization in all its aspects. We shall still, like the doctor, have to examine social pathology if only to diagnose the nature of the disease. But we must realize that not everything which takes place in the laboratory is appropriate for broadcasting at the street corners. And we must recognize the pathological for what it is and not discuss with equal indifference the diseased and the healthy organism. Certainly we must be able to distinguish between the two.

But we need something more than an intellectual commitment. We need an act of faith. As historians we must carry back into our scrutiny of the past the same faith in the validity of our democratic assumptions which, let us say, the astronomer has in the validity of the Copernican theory. What the scientist utilizes as a good working hypothesis is nothing more than faith based upon experience—that form of directed experience which we call experimentation. He has the advantage over the historian that he can constantly check the validity of his hypotheses by repeating his experiments. The historian is, however, not so badly off in this respect as he is sometimes made



out to be. Those of us who drew our first lessons in historical methodology from Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*, will recall that the fundamental principle of history is there defined to be "the analogy between present and past humanity."<sup>5</sup> On the basis of that analogy we confidently supply many of the lacks in our documentation. By the same token, contemporary social experience provides us with a laboratory for testing the validity of our social assumptions. If we cannot control the experiment we can at any rate observe and utilize it. Our conclusions from these observations will furnish us with a good working hypothesis for the appraisal of times past. And a good working hypothesis is just as imperative for the historian as for the scientist. Without it historical research can achieve little more than a mere collection of meaningless data.

So I am inclined to think that the first prerequisite of a historian is a sound social philosophy. Actually he finds in the past what he looks for in the past. He selects and arranges and emphasizes his factual data with reference to some pattern in his mind, some concept of what is socially desirable, and he follows the evolution of society with constant reference to that objective. Growth becomes for him movement toward it; decay, movement away from it. And, of course, by implication, the curve which he plots for the past inevitably projects itself into the future. He points the way, either with Spengler to destruction or with Toynbee to salvation. Therein lies his great opportunity for social service and the great instrument which he holds in his hand either for social good or for social evil.

It is not inconceivable, as we come to recognize the relativity of all history, that we shall turn again to Clio the Muse, chastened and disciplined by long confinement in strait quarters, but still a muse. Once again we may find courage to attempt history in the grand manner. Someone among us may even aspire to greater heights. He may recall that our professional pedigree leads back through the little pedants to the great poets and undertake to record in imperishable verse the greatest of all epics, the epic of the unfolding potentialities of the human spirit from the cowering beast in the cave to the unchallenged master of the world. So the wheel will turn the full circle and deep-browed Homer come to his own again.

*University of Pennsylvania*

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 256.

# When Our West Moved North

PAUL F. SHARP

THE theory of the passing of the frontier in 1890, like other broad generalizations, does not stand the test of close examination. For nearly three decades after 1890 a physical frontier east of the Rocky Mountains still beckoned, and the mass movement of Americans in search of free land continued. This last frontier was the Canadian West—an extension of the Great Plains that lay like the open palm of a hand with fingers reaching far into the north along the valleys of the Athabaska and Peace rivers.

Though by 1890 free land of good quality was rapidly disappearing south of the forty-ninth parallel, to the north there lay a vast and fertile region still to be claimed and put under the plow. This prairie land attracted thousands of restless Americans who were reluctant to abandon their traditional migratory and impermanent agricultural habits for stability and intensive farming. Farmers, traders, land speculators, lumbermen, and all the other familiar figures of an agricultural frontier poured into this last West, not only from the United States—from which a million and a quarter migrated—but also from eastern Canada and Europe.

Until recently the importance to America of this northward migration has been neglected.<sup>1</sup> The fact that this last frontier lay beyond an international boundary has concealed its importance and has led historians to treat it solely as a chapter in Canadian history. But the year 1890 loses much of its focal character in western history when a truly regional view is adopted. The widely accepted conclusion that the "frontier had lost the power and opportunity to perpetuate itself"<sup>2</sup> has little meaning when we follow the frontier as it slipped across the international boundary with the disappearance of free land in the republic. Frederick Jackson Turner interpreted the frontier as a past phenomenon, but, even as he wrote, thousands of his fellow countrymen were seeking in Canada the economic and social opportunities he described as characteristic of a frontier society. If he and his early disciples had examined

<sup>1</sup> Suggestions as to the significance of this frontier of the north may be found in John Bartlet Brebner, *North Atlantic Triangle* (New Haven, 1945); A. L. Burt, "Our Dynamic Society," *Minnesota History*, XIII (March, 1932), 3-23; Marcus Lee Hansen and John Bartlet Brebner, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* (New Haven, 1940); Walter N. Sage, "Some Aspects of the Frontier in Canadian History," Canadian Historical Association, *Annual Report* (1928), pp. 62-72; Paul F. Sharp, *The Agrarian Revolt in Western Canada: A Survey Showing American Parallels* (Minneapolis, 1948).

<sup>2</sup> Frederick Logan Paxson, *When the West Is Gone* (New York, 1930), p. 115.

at first-hand the frontier community then taking shape on the northern plains, they might have found a laboratory in which to test their hypotheses.

Affected by a sort of nationalistic astigmatism, historians have looked only as far as "49 degrees north" for the story of the westward movement, of which the settlement of the Canadian West is actually the final chapter in the Anglo-American conquest of the Great Plains. That settlement, with its meaning for the American story, deserves analysis, for the Canadian plains were not a distant region to be listed casually with Australia, South Africa, or South America as another of the remote frontiers that remained after 1890 to challenge the discontented. The mass migration into the Canadian West was the last advance in the long march that had begun on the Atlantic seaboard. It was far more than the flight of a few disenchanted or restless frontiersmen who could not tolerate the ending of frontier conditions and who were thus willing to risk the hazardous crossing of the forty-ninth parallel into an alien country. It was a movement brought about by a desire for cheap land, the same desire that had activated the earlier agrarian waves to the south.

Contemporary observers compared the movement to an invasion, and truly an army of farmers was on the move. As early as 1898, more than nine thousand immigrants crossed from the United States into the new land, and Canadian officials enthusiastically announced that a "steady stream" had begun.<sup>3</sup> The numbers reached their peak by 1910 and 1911 when 103,798 and 121,451 settlers respectively registered with immigration officials.<sup>4</sup> Other thousands crossed the international boundary casually and without troubling to register at ports of entry.<sup>5</sup> By 1920, when the rush had subsided, well over a million and a quarter immigrants had made the journey.<sup>6</sup> This was no isolated or extraordinary phenomenon. It was an integral part of westward expansion.

The movement was international in origin and consequence. Thousands of the invaders from the States, perhaps as many as one third, had not been born in North America, nor had they bothered to take out citizenship during their stay in the republic. Canadian officials were unusually successful in attracting foreign-born Americans into the "last best West." Two townships near Claresholm, Alberta, for example, were settled by a large party of Norwegians who had previously resided in North Dakota for over twenty years.<sup>7</sup> Thousands of German-Americans made the trek, as did Hungarians, Bel-

<sup>3</sup> Canada, Parliament, *Sessional Papers*, 1899, no. 13, p. viii. (Hereafter this source is cited as *Sessional Papers*.)

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1912, no. 25, p. xxxii.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1900, no. 13, p. 111; 1904, no. 25, pt. 2, p. 95.

<sup>6</sup> *Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs* (1920), p. 241.

<sup>7</sup> *Sessional Papers*, 1903, no. 25, pt. 2, p. 121.

gians, Dutch, and Scandinavians.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, many of the colonies of foreign-born in western Canada were fed from similar settlements in the United States. Of the 1,218 Icelanders who moved into Canada in 1903, for example, 500 came from the States, and, of the 12,367 German-born immigrants, 6,730 moved across from the republic.<sup>9</sup>

The nature and magnitude of the "American invasion" are not revealed by any analysis based on Canadian census statistics of the American-born in Canada. In such statistics, thousands of European-born North Americans who were part of the westward movement are lost from view. Contemporary observers did not make this mistake. One critic of Canadian immigration policy damned the government for "importing Yankee hoodlums who are not even American citizens . . . the riff-raff who live for a short time in the United States and then come into Canada."<sup>10</sup>

The attraction of the Canadian West was land—"fat black land, cheap or even free." The disappearance of such land for homesteading and the inflation of land values in the United States created a land hunger that could not be satisfied by the marginal lands yet open to settlement south of the border. Moreover, the land systems of the two nations were remarkably similar. The American farmer found the same system of townships, sections, quarter sections, homesteads, education reserves, and railway grants in Canada that he had known in the States.<sup>11</sup> The prospective settler was told, furthermore, that this new land could be treated with traditional prodigality. "There is a mine on every farm of 160 acres, and it requires no capital to work it, except industry" was a typical lure held out to the settler.<sup>12</sup>

The movement of population into the Canadian West quite naturally followed the disappearance of the frontier of fertile land within the United States, for this vast region contained the only cheap land of good quality within easy reach of the North American. The *Farmers' Advocate and Home Journal* of Winnipeg expressed a truism in 1910 when it announced to its Canadian readers: "The people will come here, for there is no other place to go. It is for us to make the best we can of them."<sup>13</sup> The *Grain Growers' Guide* a decade later voiced a similar resignation to the northward movement: "It is useless to shut our eyes to the fact that from the standpoint of economic life it

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 1900, no. 13, p. 180; 1903, no. 25, pt. 2, pp. 27, 144; 1915, no. 25, pt. 2, p. 119.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 1904, no. 25, pt. 2, pp. 97-99.

<sup>10</sup> Canada, Parliament, House of Commons *Debates*, Session 1907-1908, pp. 6442-43.

<sup>11</sup> The significance of this similarity has been suggested by Samuel E. Moffett, *The Americanization of Canada* (New York, 1907), p. 75.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas Spence, *The Prairie Lands of Canada: Presented to the World As a New and Inviting Field of Enterprise* (Montreal, 1879), p. 33.

<sup>13</sup> *Farmers' Advocate and Home Journal* (Winnipeg), XLVI (Apr. 20, 1910), 589.

is an imaginary line that is drawn between Canada and the United States, and so long as land is cheaper in Canada than in the United States, so long will farmers across the border turn their eyes northward."<sup>14</sup>

Economic motives clearly impelled the exodus. Thousands of middle-western farmers escaped the burden of higher rents and increased land costs by pulling up stakes and heading for this new West. Others sold their high-priced lands and purchased cheap Canadian farms, thus realizing a substantial profit in the exchange of American for Canadian land.<sup>15</sup> Senator Jonathan P. Dolliver of Iowa was among those who recognized the powerful force that prevailed in the Middle West and answered critics of the movement by predicting that the "stream of immigrants from the United States to Canada will continue. There is a land hunger in the hearts of the English speaking people; this will account for the removal of so many Iowa farmers to Canada."<sup>16</sup>

Canadian immigration officials were quick to exploit the desire for cheap land that existed in the Middle West. They advertised Canadian lands as the "last best West" and organized "Free Land Clubs" throughout rural America.<sup>17</sup> This was extremely effective. Over 7,000 newspapers and farmers' journals carried advertisements which emphasized the possibility of land ownership in the prairie provinces. "Why rent a farm and be compelled to pay your landlord most of your hard-earned profits?" and "The farmer's sons' great opportunity: Why wait for the old farm to become your inheritance?"—these were typical advertisements calculated to attract the attention of the restless, the discontented, or the ambitious.<sup>18</sup>

The effectiveness of this publicity was daily proved by the numbers of farmers who picked up, stowed their belongings in a wagon, or boarded a train, and headed for the Northwest. Other thousands responded to the advertising with earnest inquiries. When the Canadian Land Owners Association of Regina advertised its lands in American newspapers, over two thousand replies arrived weekly from farmers south of the boundary.<sup>19</sup>

Canadian immigration officials and railway and land companies, always anxious to unload their western lands, made special efforts to reach tenant

<sup>14</sup> *Grain Growers' Guide* (Winnipeg), XV (Mar. 1, 1922), 5.

<sup>15</sup> Typical examples are cited by John H. O'Donnell, *Manitoba As I Saw It* (Toronto, 1909), p. 121; Theodore M. Knappen, "Winning the Canadian West," *World's Work*, X (September, 1905), 6598; Agnes C. Laut, "The Last Trek to the Last Frontier," *Century Magazine*, LXXXVIII (May, 1909), 104.

<sup>16</sup> *Wallace's Farmer* (Des Moines), XXXV (Jan. 7, 1910), 25.

<sup>17</sup> *Sessional Papers*, 1900, no. 13, p. 195. The most effective pamphlet distributed throughout the United States was entitled "The Last Best West."

<sup>18</sup> *Wallace's Farmer*, XXXVI (Feb. 24, 1911), 426; XXXVI (Dec. 22, 1911), 1794.

<sup>19</sup> *Manitoba Free Press* (Winnipeg), Apr. 3, 1919.

farmers with their messages of hope and opportunity.<sup>20</sup> When the Canadian Pacific Railway publicized its holdings in the Amarillo and El Paso newspapers, nearly a thousand replies were received. Most of these were from tenant farmers in Texas ambitious to possess their own farms but too poor to afford the journey into the Northwest.<sup>21</sup>

Fertile land that was cheap or even free appealed strongly to farmers who had taken up land in marginal areas. Farmers in the arid West and in the cutover districts of Minnesota and Michigan responded enthusiastically to the call of "virgin land." Distressed and discontented ex-Canadians and German-Americans who had struggled to wrest a living from the sandy cutover lands of the lake states deserted their homes and sought a better life in the north.<sup>22</sup>

Many others sought release from political conditions in the States which they considered intolerable. It was no accident that the movement into the Canadian West had its Populist contingent after the election of 1896. In the vanguard were men like John W. Leedy, an ex-Populist governor of Kansas, Bertram Wilson Huffman, a recruit in Coxey's famous army, George Bevington, an "expert" on money and credits, and Henry Wise Wood, whose Populism profoundly shaped the farmers' movements in western Canada.<sup>23</sup>

Many of the farmers who made the trek into the Northwest later insisted that this dissatisfaction had reinforced their decision to leave for Canada. They cited the growth of trusts and the overweening strength of the "money-power" as developments in the republic they hoped to escape.<sup>24</sup> As one former Iowan testified, "I didn't much mind leaving the States, the trusts were getting so bad there it didn't seem to be the same country to me any more."<sup>25</sup> Another ex-American believed that at least a million of his fellow countrymen came into western Canada because they "had not experienced the sublime conditions" south of the border that many talked about.<sup>26</sup> It is certainly true that many were attracted by the favorable agrarian legislation passed by friendly legislatures in the prairie provinces. Hail insurance laws, direct taxes on land values, few taxes on farmers' personal property, and laws discouraging speculation in land were often cited as examples of reforms advocated by agrarians in the States but passed into law by Canadian legislative assemblies.

In view of the mass exodus to the northern plains, it is not entirely true

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 27, 1919.

<sup>21</sup> *Nonpartisan Leader* (Fargo, N. D.), V (Oct. 25, 1917), 11.

<sup>22</sup> *Sessional Papers*, 1898, no. 13, p. 111; 1900, no. 13, p. 180.

<sup>23</sup> For an excellent study of Wood's influence and of Populism in general, see W. L. Morton, "The Social Philosophy of Henry Wise Wood, the Canadian Agrarian Leader," *Agricultural History*, XXII (April, 1948), 114-23.

<sup>24</sup> Letter of B. B. Hursh, Macoun, Saskatchewan in *Grain Growers' Guide*, May 31, 1911.

<sup>25</sup> Cited by Knappen, *loc. cit.*, p. 6598.

<sup>26</sup> Letter of William Nesbitt in *Grain Growers' Guide*, Feb. 22, 1911.

that after 1890 "the baffled farmer was at bay." Many found escape in the new West. Certainly those who made the change would not accept the recent conclusion that "drought in the farther West and congestion in the cities left him no direction to go."<sup>27</sup> The direction of his flight was northward, for the West itself had turned north.

The Canadian West witnessed the same speculation and economic over-expansion that had marked the development of the older Wests. Impelled by the same mad fever to "get rich quick" and moved by the same faith that cheap land would soon be valuable, speculators looked to the Canadian West after 1890. Here was another, and perhaps last, opportunity to make a quick fortune from frontier lands and thousands rushed into the region to "get in on the ground floor." The Canadian economy felt the impact as American bankers, businessmen, lumbermen, and investors of all kinds poured their wealth into the rapidly expanding region.

The boom in western Canada re-enacted a chapter only recently finished in the American West. Thousands of speculators, unable to resist the temptation, invested in Canadian lands, urban real estate, municipal bonds, street railways, timberlands and in other typical "get-rich-quick" schemes that flourish in a frontier economy. Boom towns sprang up overnight, and, with a remarkable similarity, the Canadian West experienced the excited feeling of unending expansion and unlimited optimism that had marked the opening of the American plains to the south. When the inevitable crash came in 1913, Americans who should have learned their lesson in Wichita, Lincoln, and Bismarck got their fingers burned again.

Opportunities for quick profit seemed unlimited in this last West, even as they had on earlier frontiers. American farmers, lured on by the irresistible prospect of easy gain, sold their high-priced lands and homesteaded on the Canadian prairies. After three years of waiting and with a few improvements, the 160-acre farms that had been theirs for the asking were often sold for twenty dollars or more an acre. "It is so dead easy," observed one American farmer, "that we sit still and do nothing while we are homesteading, instead of rustling to make something."<sup>28</sup>

Stories of fantastic profits in Canada swept the Middle West and raised high expectations for a northern adventure. American businessmen formed land companies which purchased vast tracts in the Canadian West and re-sold them at substantial profits to settlers they attracted with the traditional

<sup>27</sup> Fred A. Shannon, "A Post Mortem on the Labor-Safety-Valve Theory," *Agric. Hist.*, XIX (January, 1945), 37.

<sup>28</sup> Laut, *loc. cit.*



promises of easy success in a "pigless paradise" in which farming had been reduced to the seeding and harvesting of wheat.

Farmers who arrived early were often rewarded with a profit that fulfilled the boldest dreams. Many, like Daniel Webster Warner, reaped a rich harvest of profit in appreciating land values. Warner, who later served as honorary president of the United Farmers of Alberta and as a member of parliament, left Nebraska in 1898 for Strathcona, Alberta. In a few years, the real estate boom around Edmonton having made him a wealthy man, he reinvested his profits in a ranch near Tofield.<sup>29</sup> Others had a similar experience, and all shared a similar dream.

Many settlers rushed into the Northwest with no intention of permanent residence in Canada. Some admittedly went in to "skim the cream off a new country" and to get out as soon as the cream was skimmed. Stories of "get-rich-quick" soil-miners who made their fortunes and returned to the States were widely circulated and believed on the prairies. Other speculators crossed the boundary with even sharper practices in mind. Southern Alberta and Saskatchewan often witnessed invasions of professed immigrants who were no more than horse or cattle dealers. These "immigrants," having disposed of the animals brought in under settlers' privileges, returned to the States with their profits.

Most American speculators, however, preferred to remain at home and send their dollars into the West. With their British colleagues, they helped to provide the cash that underwrote the expansion and development of this new West. Representative of this type of investor was Lyle T. Abbott of Omaha, who began his profitable investments in the Northwest as early as 1901 and as late as 1919 secured a 15,000-acre tract for speculation. Abbott's methods were commonly used—after purchasing the land, he advertised widely in rural papers and provided a special train from St. Paul for prospective settlers.<sup>30</sup>

Bitter resentment against the speculator soon appeared in this West just as it had in the older Wests. The investor in the Canadian West was especially vulnerable if he was both a speculator and a foreigner, whether British or American. Farmers' organizations in western Canada damned the foreign speculator with unrestrained invective and compliant legislatures enacted surtaxes on vacant lands in the hope of discouraging speculation. One American investor, unable to maintain silence under these attacks, poured out his complaints in an open letter to the editor of the *Grain Growers' Guide*. He

<sup>29</sup> *Grain Growers' Guide*, VIII (Oct. 27, 1915), 9, 15.

<sup>30</sup> *Manitoba Free Press*, Mar. 28, 1919.



vigorously defended the role of the speculator in opening the West and bitterly objected to being classed "along with gamblers, grafters, booze-dealers, usurers and monopolists."<sup>31</sup> Such protests had slight effect, for the foreign speculator was a traditional western enemy, to be execrated along with the vagaries of the weather.

The Canadian West was also the source of profit for American merchandising and industrial firms. For many years the Canadian prairies were an economic hinterland for St. Paul and other American cities. The economic development of St. Paul as a transportation and merchandising center rested on the expanding economy north as well as south of the forty-ninth parallel. One of the first railroads into the Canadian West led from St. Paul, and the economic domination of the Northwest by American interests which had dated from the colorful days of the Red River carts was perpetuated until the Canadian Pacific Railway broke the hold. The emergence of Winnipeg as a competitor marked the beginning of the eclipse of the Minnesota city and forecast its eventual decline as the merchandising center for the Canadian-American Northwest.

The Canadian Northwest also attracted Americans by offering opportunities other than economic gain. Religious and national groups found here a last chance to create their utopias based on cheap land. Appreciating land values in the States made it increasingly costly to build new heavens on earth, at least in the republic. But to the north, the possibility was still open, for free land was here available and friendly officials encouraged group settlement.

The migration of the Mormons from Utah into southern Alberta wrote a final chapter to their continental wanderings. The search for religious freedom and economic opportunity which began in Illinois ended in Canada for thousands of them. Faced with the unhappy prospect of statehood for Utah under conditions inimical to their religious views, large numbers of Mormons removed, over a period of years, to Alberta, where a thriving colony had been established as early as June, 1887, along Lee's Creek under the able leadership of Charles Ora Card.

This settlement grew steadily as fellow religionists in Utah seized the opportunity to start afresh in a new country. By 1893 a thousand settlers had joined the colony and the commissioner of public lands of the Dominion lauded these ex-Americans as "singularly economical, ingenious and progressive." They had succeeded, he believed, "in establishing themselves comfortably and prosperously" in lands previously considered unfit for cultiva-

<sup>31</sup> Letter to the editor signed "North Dakota" in *Grain Growers' Guide*, VIII (May 15, 1915), 8, 17.

tion.<sup>32</sup> They were considered also a “very superior class,” possessing adequate capital and sufficient experience to transform the unpromising “Palliser’s Triangle” into a prosperous agricultural region.<sup>33</sup> Responsible officials were particularly encouraged by the knowledge of irrigation possessed by the Mormons and very early predicted that the “experience and example which they are likely to show in the matter of irrigation will be of great importance to other settlers along the foothills of the Rocky mountains.”<sup>34</sup> In this they were not disappointed, for Card and his followers soon introduced effective practices learned in Utah.

The enthusiasm in Ottawa was however not shared by Gentile settlers in the district of Alberta. Previously established settlers resented the intrusion and greeted the Mormons coolly. Moreover, the religious intolerance that had plagued the sect across the continent reappeared briefly in Canada as old fears reasserted themselves. The committee on agriculture of the territorial legislative assembly quickly took notice of the colony and reported to the house that “a sect called Mormons” had made efforts to secure special privileges from the Dominion government. This was dangerous, warned the committee, for no privileges should be granted to the sect not granted to any individual settler.<sup>35</sup>

Hostility flared into open opposition when Card, J. A. Woolf, Neils Hansen, S. F. Allen, and Ephraim Harker sought to charter a company, “The Carston Company, Limited.” The ambitious objectives of this Mormon corporation, which proposed to engage in milling, manufacturing, dairying, farming, stock-raising, ranching, and to buy, sell and deal in wood, lumber, farm produce, implements, machinery and general merchandise, excited widespread suspicion throughout the territories.<sup>36</sup> Aroused residents at once framed a counterpetition citing American experience as a grave warning and urging the government to deny the charter. The petitioning citizens warned that the sect had seized enormous powers in Utah and pointed out the danger of a similar development in Canada. It would be possible, argued the petitioners, for the company to acquire sufficient land and irrigation ditches “to control a vast extent of country and make it unpleasant, if not absolutely impossible for people not of their faith from enjoying [*sic*] the rights and privileges open to all settlers under the Dominion Lands Act.”<sup>37</sup> Mormon

<sup>32</sup> *Sessional Papers*, 1893, no. 13, p. 6.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 1888, no. 14, p. xxi; 1898, no. 13, pt. 2, p. 264.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 1888, no. 14, p. xxii.

<sup>35</sup> Canada, North-West Territories, *Journal of the Legislative Assembly*, 1st Session (1888), 1st Legislature (Regina, 1889), p. 94.

<sup>36</sup> Canada, North-West Territories, *Sessional Papers*, 3d Session (1890), 1st Legislature (Regina, 1891), pp. 48–49.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 49–51.

immigrants would not be desirable, for their economic and political power and their peculiar religious practices "will be most hurtful to the people of this District and the country at large."<sup>38</sup>

Dominion officials refused to be stampeded by local fears and prejudices. They clearly saw that in Canada the Mormons faced legal restraints which were not present in the United States. The Deputy Minister of the Interior dismissed the doubts and fears of the opposition on the grounds that, though in Utah the Mormons had framed their own territorial laws according to their own principles, in Canada "the territory is already organized, and has its laws in regard to property and civil rights and relations, including the subject of marriage."<sup>39</sup> Dominion officials possessed a further argument in the constitutional differences between the two countries. The Mormons, they could argue, would never be able "to seriously affect the laws of the Territories, in relation to such a matter as marriage, but even if such were the case, the control over Territorial and Provincial legislation which . . . is vested in the Dominion authorities . . . will be a perfect safeguard."<sup>40</sup> The Canadian government, therefore, continued to encourage the immigration and the Mormon settlement soon became one of the most productive and important colonies in the West, exerting considerable influence on the social and political life of Alberta.

Other religious groups also left for the Canadian Northwest as limited economic opportunity or hostile neighbors impelled them to look elsewhere for utopia. Dunkards from the Dakotas and Minnesota, Mennonites from the strong colony at Mountain Lake, Minnesota, Hutterites from South Dakota. German Lutherans from Michigan, Texas, and Kentucky, and German Catholics under the Catholic Settlement Society sought new opportunity on the western prairies.<sup>41</sup>

Canadian immigration policy welcomed these settlements and encouraged other colonies to enter the Northwest despite widespread eastern criticism. The anxiety to fill the West so as to relieve the financial strain on overexpanded railways and hard-pressed governments dictated a policy of generosity and liberality. In this policy, scores of religious communities found their refuge and realized the fulfillment of their dreams.

The mass exodus to western Canada excited vigorous opposition in the States and inspired widespread criticism. The competition for settlers was often bitter as American railway and land companies sought to divert the

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Sessional Papers*, 1888, no. 14, p. xxi.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 1901, no. 25, p. 167; 1904, no. 25, p. 26.

flow of settlement to marginal lands still available within the republic. Numerous efforts were made to halt the emigration, for every farmer leaving for Canada meant a loss to land companies seeking to unload acreages in the arid West, in the Florida Everglades, in the cutover districts of the lake states, or in the reclamation tracts. The movement into the Northwest represented a threat to profits that could not be ignored.

Land and immigration companies in the border states were especially active in opposing the movement into Canada. They sought the aid of friendly legislatures, they secured the co-operation of state and county fair officials in banning Canadian exhibits, and they financed elaborate campaigns to call attention to lands remaining open for settlement within the United States.

Negative techniques were also adopted. A vigorous campaign of abuse was launched to discredit the Canadian West by picturing it as a land of ice and snow, of drought and grasshoppers, of financial distress and political monarchism. Canadian immigration officials considered the efforts of the American Immigration and the Minnesota Immigration companies of St. Paul particularly effective in diverting settlers from the Northwest.<sup>42</sup>

The inspiration for this opposition was obvious but the influence of the campaign is questionable. Far more effective in discouraging emigration was the opening to settlement of lands in Oklahoma Territory, of Indian and military reservations, and of enlarged homesteads in the arid West under the Kinkaid Homestead Act of 1904 and the Enlarged Homestead Act five years later.

Opposition came also from other sources. Farmers' organizations, professors in agricultural colleges, rural newspapers, and farmers' journals raised their voices and used their influence against the movement which they considered a serious drain on the rural population and wealth of the Middle West.<sup>43</sup> Champ Clark expressed this resentment in his widely quoted statement denouncing the exodus as "the depleting of the Middle Western States."<sup>44</sup> Others regretted the loss to rural America of many of its most aggressive and most promising farmers.<sup>45</sup>

The flow of wealth into Canada intensified the opposition. The spectacle of thousands of farmers leaving the United States with trainloads of cattle, household goods, farm equipment, and considerable cash was more than many could witness with approval. Henry Wallace, Sr., warned his middle-

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 1905, no. 25, p. 32.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 1915, no. 25, pt. 2, pp. 116, 121, 127.

<sup>44</sup> "Why Our Farmers Seek Canada," *Literary Digest*, XLIV (Dec. 28, 1912), 1217.

<sup>45</sup> Knappen, *loc. cit.*, p. 6600; *Nonpartisan Leader*, V (Oct. 25, 1917), 11.

western readers that speculation in Canadian lands was a dangerous mistake, and numerous bankers throughout Iowa and Illinois refused to lend money to farmers contemplating investment in western Canadian farms.<sup>46</sup>

The Canadian West unquestionably siphoned off millions of dollars of wealth from the Middle West. Immigration records are replete with stories of American farmers who arrived with several carloads of livestock, completely equipped to begin farming operations, and often with surprisingly large cash resources.<sup>47</sup> The experience of Peter Muirhead of Oakland County, Michigan, was not unusual. This enterprising farmer purchased a three-thousand-acre ranch near Calgary and took six carloads of livestock and two carloads of equipment with him to his new home.<sup>48</sup>

Official estimates of this flow of wealth into western Canada explain in part the opposition the movement inspired. In 1908 and 1909, for example, immigration officials estimated that Americans brought with them equipment and cash valued at \$52,000,000 and \$60,000,000.<sup>49</sup> Even in 1916 when the movement had slowed down because of the war, over a million dollars of immigrants' assets passed through the single port of entry at North Portal, Saskatchewan.<sup>50</sup> Estimates of the wealth drained from the United States into Canada during these years vary widely, but the total probably approximated three hundred million dollars.<sup>51</sup>

What such a drain on local communities might mean may be illustrated by one example. In 1899, 1,431 people left the region around Saginaw City, Michigan, for western Canada with twelve carloads of stock and equipment and with cash estimated at \$109,000.<sup>52</sup> Few communities could sustain such a loss without reacting, and criticisms were heard on every hand. The widespread nature of the criticism and the vigorous opposition that developed against the emigration are measures of the importance of the movement in the economic and social life of the Middle West.

The "American invasion" of western Canada aroused half-forgotten dreams of manifest destiny in many Americans. The old ambition to expand into the Canadian West reappeared, as spread-eagle oratory voicing ambitions to see the Stars and Stripes waving from the North Pole to the Rio Grande again had its day. Many Americans shared William Stewart's judgment in

<sup>46</sup> *Wallace's Farmer*, XXXV (June 3, 1910), 846; *Sessional Papers*, 1905, no. 25, p. 33.

<sup>47</sup> *Sessional Papers*, 1901, no. 25, p. 175; 1906, no. 25, p. 68.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 1903, no. 25, p. 131.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 1909, no. 25, p. 86; 1910, no. 25, p. 242.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 1917, no. 25, pt. 2, p. 78.

<sup>51</sup> *Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs* (1920), p. 242.

<sup>52</sup> *Sessional Papers*, 1900, no. 13, p. 183.

1903 that "it has long seemed the part of a manifest destiny that this union should come."<sup>53</sup>

The spectacle of thousands of Americans moving into western Canada excited expansionist hopes and fired many acquisitive imaginations. The human stream flowing across the international boundary recalled earlier "peaceful penetrations" and brought life again to the idea of annexation. Canadians thoroughly acquainted with the history of their great neighbor recognized with apprehension the familiar prelude to annexation that had brought Texas and Oregon into the republic. "In a few years," predicted one American commentator, "so preponderant will this population have become that dispassionate observers see in the present exodus that which is likely to bring about the future union of the countries."<sup>54</sup> Goldwin Smith arrived at the same conclusion, though with a greater economy of words: "The North-West will be American."<sup>55</sup>

Many Americans, however, were reluctant to accept the fact that their fellow countrymen were willing to shed their nationality for another. Furthermore, it was popularly believed that democracy was impossible in Canada, for Canada had a king. This "incongenial government" would be a constant burden to the ex-Americans.<sup>56</sup> From such premises it was an easy step to conclude that the Yankee farmers would never forget their native land or lose their Americanism.<sup>57</sup> At least, if it was not to be the destiny of the prairie provinces to join the republic, then certainly "a new nation will be born in the West, formed of the very flesh and blood of the United States."<sup>58</sup>

Just how widely annexation views were accepted we cannot now estimate with accuracy. There were many, in fact, who denied that the movement had such implications.<sup>59</sup> But these denials and arguments were in themselves evidence that such hopes existed. Certainly the frequently and loudly expressed ambition to add Canada to the republic was influential in arousing Canadian resentment and in defeating the proposed Canadian-American reciprocity agreement in the election of 1911. Indeed, the whole reciprocity episode becomes more significant when it is viewed against the background of the American penetration of the Canadian prairies. And Canadian fears, which

<sup>53</sup> William R. Stewart, "The Americanization of the Canadian Northwest," *Cosmopolitan*, XXXIV (April, 1903), 603.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Goldwin Smith, *Reminiscences* (New York, 1910), p. 414.

<sup>56</sup> *Breeder's Gazette*, LVIII (July 20, 1910), 100.

<sup>57</sup> *Mississippi Valley Lumberman* (Minneapolis), Oct. 20, 1910.

<sup>58</sup> J. Oliver Curwood, "The Effect of the American Invasion," *World's Work*, X (September, 1905), 6608.

<sup>59</sup> Agnes C. Laut, "The Trend of Political Affairs in Canada," *Review of Reviews*, XXX (November, 1904), 575; *Literary Digest*, XLV (Dec. 28, 1912), 1217.

at first glance seem groundless or exaggerated, are more understandable.<sup>60</sup>

The failure to follow the physical frontier in its northward course has had some curious results. Though a physical frontier that lured thousands of settlers and attracted millions of dollars of wealth still existed, historians after 1890 began a search for other "frontiers." Some of them began to attach the word to new areas of social improvement, scientific research, political liberalism, or cultural achievement. "The physical frontier had disappeared by 1890, but there were soon disclosed new frontiers of industry, finance, and commerce as well as cultural frontiers."<sup>61</sup> Thus the word lost its original physical significance and came to mean any new "front" of social progress.

Even the familiar stories of the mining frontier, the plains Indians, and the cattle kingdom often overlooked the northern plains beyond the forty-ninth parallel. This political boundary became a far more formidable barrier to historians than to the men and movements they sought to describe. The ranchers on the northern plains, for instance, often ignored this boundary in their search for adequate pasturage, and cowboys sought employment with outfits in Alberta as freely as with those in Wyoming or Montana.<sup>62</sup> The range cattle industry, in fact, lingered on in the foothills of the Rockies and in the Cypress hills after it had vanished south of the boundary.

Other developments on this last frontier also enrich our understanding of western history. The handling of law enforcement in the Canadian West casts suspicion on the readily accepted explanations concerning the "inevitability" of lawlessness on the plains. Certainly the American cowboy jailed in Battleford for displaying a typical frontier exuberance posed questions that many American historians have evaded when he complained: "What's the matter with this blamed Canaday anyway? All I did was to tell the gang to throw up their hands. . . . Get me out o' this blamed Canaday. God's own free country for mine."<sup>63</sup>

Another American settler pointed out an interesting difference with the observation, "You can't grease a sheriff's fist."<sup>64</sup> The annual reports of the North-West Mounted Police often commented on these differences and frequently called attention to the absence of crime in this last West in contrast

<sup>60</sup> Canada, Parliament, House of Commons *Debates*, Session 1909, p. 853; Archibald S. Hurd, "Foreign Invasion of Canada," *Fortnightly Review* (London), LXXVIII (December, 1902), 1065.

<sup>61</sup> Ernest Ludlow Bogart, "Pushing Back the Frontiers," *American Economic Review*, XXII (March, 1932), 1-9.

<sup>62</sup> Ernest Staples Osgood, *Day of the Cattleman* (Minneapolis, 1929), pp. 105, 218; Will James, *Cowboys North and South* (New York, 1936), p. 3.

<sup>63</sup> Laut, "The Last Trek to the Last Frontier," *Century Mag.*, LXXVIII, 105.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104.

to the "crimes committed under similar conditions in the country to the south of us."

A recent plea to American historians to abandon their academic isolationism and examine the Wests lying outside the United States is pointed and timely.<sup>65</sup> Familiarity with these other Wests enriches our understanding of our own West and reveals the full meaning of developments that otherwise remain obscure. The history of the northern plains illustrates the relevance of this plea with particular emphasis, for the history of the trans-Mississippi West is imperfectly understood and incompletely told when we ignore the trek to the north and stop at a line which existed only on a map.

*Iowa State College*

<sup>65</sup> Herbert Heaton, "Other Wests Than Ours," *Tasks of Economic History*, Supp. VI to *Journal of Economic History* (December, 1946).



# Napoleon's Journey to Elba in 1814

## Part II. By Sea<sup>1</sup>

J. M. THOMPSON

THE story must now go back a few days to explain the movements of the ships; and for this we are fortunate in being able to supplement the narratives of Fabry and Campbell with that of Ussher, the captain of the *Undaunted*, together with the vessel's logs preserved in the Public Record Office.<sup>2</sup>

Ussher's narrative is introduced by an interesting prologue. "In the month of August, 1813 [he writes] I was stationed in the *Undaunted*, frigate, in the Gulf of Lyons, with the *Redwing*, Sir John Sinclair, and the *Espoir*, the Hon. Captain Spencer, under my orders." Spencer had brought letters and papers from England speculating on Napoleon's downfall and flight.

The "Courier" even went so far as to insert in its columns a minute description of the Emperor's person, in case the attempt [to escape to America] should be made. Singularly enough, I cut out the paragraph in question, and wafered it on the book-case in my cabin, jokingly observing to the other captains, who happened to be dining with me about that time, that they had better take a copy of it, as he might possibly come our way; little imagining, at the time I made this observation, that a few short months would see him at the very same table at which we were then sitting.

On Sunday, April 24—the day of Napoleon's interview with Augereau at Valence—the *Undaunted* was still on the same station when,

about ten o'clock at night [says Captain Ussher] being five or six leagues from the city of Marseilles, in company with the *Euryalus*, Captain Charles Napier, then under my orders, my attention was attracted by a brilliant light in the direction of, and seemingly coming from, the town, which I conjectured was an illumination for some important event. I began to think that the "Courier" might prove, after all, to be a true prophet.

Every sail was set on both ships, and every exertion was made to work up the bay. At daybreak we were close off the land. All was apparently quiet in the batteries, and not a flag flying; nor were the telegraphs at work, which was uniformly the case on the approach of the enemy. Everything betokened that some great change had taken place.

So Ussher sailed in, but with all ready for action if necessary. "We now showed our colors, and hoisted at the main a flag of truce, and the royal

<sup>1</sup> For Part I, "By Land," see *American Historical Review*, October, 1949, pp. 1-21.

<sup>2</sup> For bibliographical details of these accounts, see Part I, note 1.

standard of the Bourbons, which the ship's tailor had made during the night. This flag had not been displayed on the French coast for a quarter of a century." The ships were fired at from the forts as they approached, and replied, and the garrisons were seen running away.

Shortly afterward, observing a boat with a flag of truce standing out of the harbor, I shortened sail to receive it. On coming alongside I found she had on board the mayor and municipal officers of Marseilles, who had come from the town to apologize for the conduct pursued by the batteries, intimating that it was an unauthorized act of some of the men. They informed me of the abdication of Napoleon [which had taken place nearly a fortnight previously], and of the formation of a provisional government at Paris; I congratulated them on the change. . . . Captain Napier and I then proceeded in the barge of the *Euryalus* toward the land. We found a dense crowd collected at the landing-place, who, as we stopped to inquire for the *pratique* [quarantine] officers, rushed into the water, and, seizing the bow of the boat, hauled me by main force on shore.

They were enthusiastically feted, and taken to the town hall, where the municipal authorities welcomed them, only objecting to their infringement of quarantine. There followed a Mass, a procession, and a meal at the general's house. Ussher was by this time becoming a little anxious about his ships, when he received "a communication from the commandant of the town, informing me he had been instructed by his superior, the governor of Toulon, and commander-in-chief of the district, to order us to our ships, and to allow of no further communication, excepting by flags of truce." Ussher refused to comply, and the governor threatened to send three thousand men against the town.

During this angry discussion [Ussher goes on] Colonel Campbell, the English commissioner, arrived, bringing with him the following very important note:

MARSEILLES, April 25, 1814, 8 P.M.

STR: I have the honor to acquaint you that Lord Viscount Castlereagh, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has charged me with a mission to accompany the late chief of the French government, Napoleon Bonaparte, to the isle of Elba, to whose secure asylum in that island it is the wish of His Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, to afford every facility and protection. [Castlereagh's involved style, repeated from Campbell's instructions of April 15, is easily recognized here.] Having afterward written to His Lordship that Napoleon had requested that a British ship-of-war might be given to him as a convoy to the French corvette, and at his option for embarkation, in case of preferring it, his Lordship wrote to me as follows:

"Dated PARIS, April 18.

"My instructions furnish you with authority to call upon His Majesty's officers, by sea and land, to give all due fidelity and assistance to the execution of the service with which you are entrusted. I cannot foresee that any enemy can molest

the French corvette on board of which it is proposed Napoleon shall proceed to his destination. If, however, he shall continue to desire it, you are authorized to call upon any of His Majesty's cruisers (so far as the public service may not be prejudiced) to see him safe to the island of Elba. You will not, however, suffer this arrangement to be a cause of delay."

Napoleon has since his departure from Fontainebleau toward St. Tropez pressed me to proceed here for this object, which I beg leave to submit to your consideration, hoping that, as the desire to proceed immediately to his destination is in unison with that of the Allied Powers, which would be defeated by delay, in referring to the admiral commanding His Britannic Majesty's fleet, you will find yourself at liberty to proceed to St. Tropez with His Majesty's ship under your command. I have the honor to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,  
NEIL CAMPBELL, Col."

I immediately waited upon Colonel Campbell [Ussher continues], who informed me that he had left Napoleon on the road, pursuing his journey to St. Tropez, from which place it had been arranged he was to embark, accompanied by the envoys of the allied sovereigns. I immediately made arrangements for quitting the harbor of Marseilles, and on the following morning (April 26) set sail for St. Tropez, leaving Captain Napier in command of the station.

Although Captain Ussher had been dispensed from consulting his admiral, the log tells us that he did so. "Tues. 26 NW. Strong Breezes and fine Wea. Empd [Employed] preparing for Sea. At 10 unmoored. At noon weighed made sail and crossed T.G. yards. Fleet at anchor in Hyères bay. At 7 joined Co. Capt. Ussher went on board H.M. Ship *St. Josef*. Anchored near the *St. Josef*. Midnight weighed and made sail." (*St. Josef*, 110 guns, was temporarily flying the flag of Rear Admiral Sir Richard King as Sir Edward Pellew was at Genoa, which had surrendered to him on April 18.)

Next morning at daylight (Wednesday, April 27) the *Undaunted* was within seven or eight miles of Saint-Tropez, and stood toward the harbor.

On arriving off St. Tropez [says Ussher], we hoisted a red flag at the main, that being the distinguishing signal agreed upon with Colonel Campbell at Marseilles. A boat immediately [the log says at eight A.M.] came out of the harbor with a lieutenant from the French frigate *Dryade* (commanded by the Comte de Montcabri [sic]), which was lying there with the corvette *Victorieuse*. The Comte sent his lieutenant to inform me that the Emperor Napoleon had abdicated, and that the Comte de Montcabri had orders from the provisional Government to remain at St. Tropez with the *Victorieuse* for the purpose of conducting the Emperor to the island of Elba, the sovereignty of which island had been guaranteed to him by the allied sovereigns (it now struck me [adds Ussher] that the red flag at the main was considered in war a signal of defiance) [hence the Frenchman's anxiety to explain his peaceful intentions]. At this moment a boat came alongside with an Austrian officer, Major Sinclair, despatched from Fréjus by Colonel Campbell, to inform me that at the particular request of the Emperor the commissioners of the allied sovereigns had thought proper to change the place of embarkation, and requesting me to proceed to Fréjus.

The log adds, "10. Wore ship, and made all sail towards the gulf of Fréjus."

How did the French ships come to be at Saint-Tropez? Fabry tells us. The courier carrying the orders of the Provisional Government under the terms of the Treaty of Fontainebleau for the provision of a corvette and transports to take Napoleon to Elba reached Toulon on April 24, the same day as Campbell gave Ussher his orders at Marseilles. The 42-gun frigate *Dryade* (comte de Montcabrié) and the brig *Inconstant* (vicomte de Charrier-Moisard) were seen leaving Toulon harbor next day. Both were under aristocratic officers and with picked crews; and no one doubted what their mission was. Having some fifty miles less to cover than the British ships from Marseilles, they arrived at Saint-Tropez on the twenty-sixth, and, finding some of Napoleon's convoy there, supposed that he would follow. (This part of the convoy must have started on the wrong road from Le Luc before the change of plans was made.) It was not till next morning that they heard

that the difficulty of the roads prevented Napoleon's coming to St. Tropez and that he was going to Fréjus, where troops and ships were to meet him. This news was brought [Fabry goes on] by M. de Koulvaloff, Shuvaloff's aide-de-camp, and M. de Clam, aide-de-camp of Schwartzenburg, who arrived separately at St. Tropez, and went on board the *Dryade*. A few minutes after their arrival, a British ship flying a *pavillon parlementaire* passed the harbor. An officer was sent on board, and reported that she was the *Undaunted* [*l'Indomptée*], Captain Ussher, on his way from Marseille to Fréjus, by order of Colonel Campbell.

It is a little difficult to reconcile the accounts of Fabry and Ussher as to the change of rendezvous. If Helfert is right that the change of plans was made at Le Luc but that orders for the new rendezvous were not sent off till Napoleon's arrival at Fréjus, we must suppose that Koulvaloff, Clam, and Sinclair posted (together) from there to Saint-Tropez, and put off separately to the French and British flotillas. Yet it would appear from Fabry's account that the *Dryade's* lieutenant had not heard of the change of plans when the British ships appeared off the harbor, whereas Sinclair came on board with the news "at this moment," *i.e.*, whilst the lieutenant was still on board the *Undaunted*. It looks a little as though both commanders, anxious to have the honor of transporting Napoleon, had tried to conceal the change of rendezvous from the other. In any case the sequel is instructive. Captain Ussher, who had not entered the harbor, sailed again within the hour, and arrived off Fréjus in less than two hours. The French ships, though Fabry says they "lost no time in setting sail" did not arrive there till eight hours later, when they found the *Undaunted* "already at anchor, and preparing to embark Napoleon's baggage." Intentionally or not—and one cannot doubt that Ussher

was anxious to have Napoleon on board if possible—the *Undaunted* had stolen a march on the *Dryade*. The *Undaunted's* log, which records the arrival off Saint-Tropez at eight A.M., continues:

9 Wore ship, and made all sail towards the gulf of Fréjus. 10.45. Hove to and a boat came alongside from Fréjus. At 11 Capt. Ussher left the ship: made all sail towards the anchorage. 3.30. shortd sail and anchored. Hoisted out the boats and sent them to St. Raphael [the harbor for Fréjus] to embark the Effects of the Emperor Napoleon. At 7 p.m. anchored in the bay a French Frigate and Brig.

There is no mention of the *Victorieuse*, which had apparently remained at Saint-Tropez.

We may now return to Ussher's narrative:

On arriving at the anchorage, I received a note from Colonel Campbell, informing me that horses had been sent down from the town, and an orderly sergeant placed at my disposal, to carry on any communications with the town, which lies on a height three or four miles from the anchorage. I took advantage of this conveyance, and immediately waited on Colonel Campbell, who, although suffering severely from his wounds, immediately accompanied me to the "Chapeau Rouge," a small *auberge*, or hotel (and, I believe, the only one in Fréjus), where Napoleon was lodged. . . . His faithful follower in adversity, Comte Bertrand, was in attendance, and, having announced Colonel Campbell and myself, immediately presented us to the Emperor.

Napoleon was dressed in the regimentals of the Old Guard, and wore the star of the Legion of Honor. He walked forward to meet us, with a book open in his hand, to which he occasionally referred when asking me questions about Elba and the voyage thither. He received us with great condescension and politeness; his manner was dignified, but he appeared to feel his fallen state. Having asked me several questions regarding my ship, he invited us to dine with him, upon which we retired.

There are two accounts of the dinner to which Campbell and Ussher returned later in the afternoon, one by Ussher and one by Truchsess; for the three foreign commissioners were there, as well as Clam, Bertrand, and Drouot. Both accounts agree that Napoleon, who had now (as Truchsess says) "recovered his imperial dignity," talked with remarkable freedom. He was specially attentive to Koller, who sat next him, and to Ussher, who knew little French and had to use Campbell as interpreter. "He talked to us with unusual frankness [says Truchsess] about the plans for French aggrandizement which he still had in mind, at our expense. If he had attacked England, he said, as determinedly as he had attacked the Continent he would have conquered her in two years." Talking of his navy he remarked, with an eye on the Russian Shuvaloff, who did not relish the allusion, that the *Austerlitz* was one of the finest ships in the world. After dinner he took leave of the

Russian and Prussian commissioners, thanking them for their services, and complaining only of his treatment by the French government, which, he said, had been so mean as to allow him only one silver service and only six dozen shirts.

That evening (Helfert says next morning, but the log disproves it) the comte de Montcabrié came ashore and secured an interview with the emperor. He had come to Fréjus by order of the French government to take Napoleon to Elba; and now he found the imperial baggage going on board the *Undaunted*. It is not certain how Napoleon dealt with this reasonable complaint. He may have pretended to be ignorant of the French arrangements, or he may have put the blame on the commissioners; he may even have mentioned his suspicions of the French government, or the fear, suggested to him by the innkeeper's wife at La Calade, that an attempt upon his life was to be made during the voyage. Fabry says that he tried to smooth Montcabrié down by suggesting that the *Dryade* should sail along with the *Undaunted* but that this plan was not unnaturally rejected. Truchsess' blunter version of the conversation is that Napoleon refused to embark on such "a rotten old brig" (*un vieux brick pourri*) as the *Inconstant*, and said that the French government ought to have sent a three-decker. Helfert enlarges this into a regular scene. When Napoleon heard that a *bloße Brigg* had come for him, he was very disillusioned (*ungehalten*). He had given France a navy, he said, and France could only provide him with a wretched (*elende*) little brig. What meanness! *C'est cochon ça!* Then he produced a big book from which he read out details about the vessel, saying to Koller, "The English would give millions to get hold of all the tables and summaries [*Übersichten*] I have here; all France is contained in it!" (This book was not the same, apparently, as that which had been in Napoleon's hands when Ussher first met him at the inn; that contained geographical facts and perhaps sailing directions—it may well have been the *Petit Neptune*—this contained particulars about the French navy, and was probably a confidential list compiled for Napoleon's own information.) But this was not all. According to Helfert, Napoleon, worked on by the suspicions of Koller and Clam, who distrusted any French convoy, told Montcabrié that he could not have accepted his offer so long as he was flying the Bourbon (white) flag, even if he had known that the captain and the crew wore the tricolor in their hearts. Montcabrié countered this bit of rhetoric by offering to fly no flag at all. Napoleon replied that he was now pledged to Ussher. In the end Montcabrié went off in a temper, sailed away at daybreak, and from Toulon posted straight to Paris, where he

arrived on May 5, to explain and (fortunately for himself) to be forgiven for his failure to carry out orders.

"At daylight," then (to quote the log for Thursday, April 28), "the French Frigate and Brig weighed and stood out of the bay," whilst the crew of the *Undaunted* were "Employed receiving the Effects of the Emperor Napoleon, and stowing do." Captain Ussher spent the night on shore, evidently expecting that he would have to conduct Napoleon on board the next morning.

I . . . was awakened [he says] at four in the morning by two of the principal inhabitants, who came into my room to implore me to embark the Emperor as quickly as possible, intelligence having been received that the army of Italy, lately under the command of Eugène Beauharnais, was broken up; that the soldiers were entering France in large bodies, and were as devoted as ever to their chief. [By the Convention of April 16 Eugène was allowed to send his French troops back to France.]

Ussher referred his visitors to the commissioners, "who, I dare say, were as little pleased as I was at being awakened at so unreasonable an hour." But the matter was serious.

It was, indeed, pretty evident that Napoleon was in no hurry to quit the shores of France, and appeared to have some motive for remaining. The envoys became rather uneasy, and requested me to endeavor to prevail upon him to embark that day. In order to meet their wishes, I demanded an interview, and pointed out to the Emperor the uncertainty of winds, and the difficulty I should have in landing in the boats should the wind change to the southward and drive in a swell upon the beach, which, from the present appearance of the weather, would in all probability happen before many hours; in which case, I should be obliged, for the safety of His Majesty's ship, to put to sea again. I then took leave, and went on board, and at ten o'clock received the following note from Colonel Campbell.

DEAR USSHER: The Emperor is not very well. He wishes to delay embarking for a few hours, if you think it will be possible then. That you may not be in suspense, he begs you will leave one of your officers here, who can make a signal to your ship when it is necessary to prepare, and he will also send previous warning. . . . Let me know your wishes by bearer. You will find me at General Koller's.

Yours truly,

N. CAMPBELL.

Helfert says that the emperor's indisposition was a return of the cramp and vomiting which had given rise to the story of poisoning at Fontainebleau. Fabry says that it was given out at nine A.M. that he was suffering from *une indigestion de langoustes*—he had eaten too much lobster at dinner. The indisposition did not seem to be serious; for the same afternoon he wrote to the



empress, Marie Louise, and to her father, the emperor, without any mention of it. Ussher seems to have supposed it a ruse to delay embarkation. In the evening, he writes:

Napoleon, finding that it was my determination to put to sea, saw the necessity of yielding to circumstances. Bertrand was accordingly directed to have the carriages ready at seven o'clock. I waited on the Emperor at a quarter before seven to inform him that my barge was at the beach. I remained alone with him in his room at the town until the carriage which was to convey him to the boat was announced. He walked up and down the room, apparently in deep thought. There was a loud noise in the street, upon which I remarked that a French mob was the worst of all mobs. . . . "Yes," he replied, "they are a fickle people"; and added, "They are like a weathercock."

At this moment [Helfert says eight, Truchsess nine o'clock] Count Bertrand announced the carriages. He immediately put on his sword, which was lying on the table, and said, "*Allons, Capitaine.*" I turned from him to see if my sword was loose in the scabbard, fancying I might have occasion to use it. The folding-doors, which opened on a pretty large landing-place, were now thrown open, when there appeared a number of most respectable-looking people, the ladies in full dress, waiting to see him. They were perfectly silent, but bowed most respectfully to the Emperor, who went up to a very pretty young woman in the midst of the group, and asked her in a courteous tone if she were married, and how many children she had.

He scarcely waited for a reply, but, bowing to each individual as he descended the staircase, stepped into his carriage, desiring Baron Koller, Comte Bertrand, and me, to accompany him. The carriage immediately drove off at full speed to the beach, followed by the carriages of the envoys.

For the actual embarkation we have two witnesses whom we can trust: Ussher, and his third lieutenant, George Sidney Smith, whose description and drawing of the scene can be found in the *Naval Chronicle* for 1816 (XXXV, 477).

The scene [says Ussher] was deeply interesting. It was a bright moonlight night, with little wind; a regiment of cavalry was drawn up in a line upon the beach and among the trees. [Smith says they were Austrian cavalry, and formed three sides of a square round the coach which they had escorted to the beach.] As the carriage approached, the bugles sounded, which, with the neighing of the horses, and the noise of the people assembled to bid adieu to their fallen chief, was to me in the highest degree interesting.

The Emperor, having left the carriage, embraced Prince Schoovalof, who, with Comte Truxos, took leave, and returned to Paris [Helfert says Truchsess had taken leave of Napoleon at Fréjus, and Shuvaloff did so on board the *Undaunted*], and, taking my arm, immediately proceeded toward the barge, which was waiting to receive us. Lieutenant Smith (nephew of Sir Sydney Smith, who, it is well known, had for some time been confined in the Temple with Captain Wright) was, by a strange coincidence, the officer in command of the boat. He came forward and assisted the Emperor along the gang-plank into the boat. [Napoleon, says Smith,



"with an affability of manner desired the officer of the boat to be presented to him, which was accordingly done by Captain Ussher; but on hearing the name he repeated it, and remained silent the whole way off to the ship." Doubtless he remembered the mention of the name by Campbell at Briare on April 21, and thought it ominous.] The *Undaunted* [continues Ussher] lay close in, with her topsails hoisted, lying to. On arriving alongside, I immediately went up the side to receive the Emperor on the quarter-deck. He took his hat off and bowed to the officers, who were all assembled on the deck. Soon afterwards he went forward to the fore-castle among the people [the crew], and I found him there conversing with those among them who understood a little French. Nothing seemed to escape his observation; the first thing which attracted his notice was the number of boats (I think we had eleven). Having made all sail, and fired a royal salute, I accompanied him to my cabin, and showed him my cot, which I had ordered to be prepared for him. He smiled when I said I had no better accommodation for him, and said that everything was very comfortable, and he was sure he would sleep soundly. We now made all sail, and shaped our course for Elba.

The log says: "At 10 the Emperor Napoleon came on board with about 50 other persons. Fired a salute of 21 guns at the Emperor's coming on board. Weighed, made sail, and stood out of the bay."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Five footnotes may be added to this account: (1) Fabry reports that at the moment of Napoleon's embarkation the Russian commissioner said, "*Adieu, César et sa fortune!*" This has a legendary air. (2) A letter from Lieutenant Hastings of the *Undaunted* "now published for the first time," from Broadley's collection, by Norwood Young (*Napoleon in Exile: Elba*, London, 1914) says, "The road was lined with Hussars, and a square was formed on the Beach around the boat. At ½ past 8 he embarked in the utmost silence, which was only interrupted by a trumpet march. The sea was peaceably calm, and the whole scene was truly impressive." (3) Ussher had been in some doubt as to the propriety of a royal salute. He had asked to see the commissioners at Fréjus to inquire as to his treatment of the ex-emperor. "They informed me [he says] that their instructions were precise and positive, and that he was styled by the treaty of Fontainebleau Emperor and Sovereign of the Isle of Elba. I still entertained doubts as to the propriety of receiving him with a royal salute, but Colonel Campbell, in order to remove every doubt on the subject, showed me Lord Castlereagh's instructions to him, which were conclusive." A fresh difficulty arose when Napoleon postponed his embarkation till the evening; for there was a navy regulation against firing a salute after sunset. But this Ussher evidently took it upon himself to ignore. (4) In an appendix to Ussher's narrative (printed in Rose, p. 113) is an account by a Mr. Birge Harrison of a visit to Fréjus, during which it had occurred to him to inquire whether anyone was still alive there who remembered the embarkation. He found a certain M. Coulis, "a gentleman ninety-three years old, but unusually intelligent and lucid in conversation," still living at Fréjus, and took down his account. "A slight temporary jetty had been erected at the beach for the occasion [said this old gentleman], and among those gathered near it were he and his father. It was half-past seven of a bright moonlight evening when the imperial party arrived upon the beach—so bright indeed that the Emperor's peculiarly vivid smile was apparent to all as he advanced from his carriage toward the boat which was awaiting him. Just as he put foot upon the jetty, however, his countenance darkened somewhat, and, turning to the prefect of the Department of the Var, who was standing by, the Emperor remarked: '*Voici encore une déception, mais j'aurai du m'attendre à cela.*'" M. Coulis said he supposed this referred to his desertion by the corvette *Victorieuse*, which was to have accompanied him to Elba and to have remained in his service there, but which had sailed away with Montcabrié that morning. (There is a misconception here. It is clear from the evidence already given that the only vessels that sailed from Toulon and arrived at and subsequently left Fréjus were the *Dryade* and the *Inconstant*. The *Victorieuse* is only mentioned as being at Saint-Tropez. The first *déception* Napoleon experienced was therefore the offer of a passage on the *vieux brick*, the *Inconstant*: the second (*encore une*) *déception* was the failure of the *Victorieuse* to show up at all. (5) In the *Naval Chronicle* for 1815 (XXXIV, 388) a correspondent who signs himself "Robinson Crusoe" submits "the abstract of a letter from an officer of the *Undaunted* to a female relative, which your readers may

The Admiralty regulations in force during the Napoleonic wars made it part of a captain's duties to see that not only a captain's log and ship's log were kept but also a muster, giving a complete list of all on board at various times during a voyage; for it was upon this evidence that the allocation of supplies and the payment of wages and prize-money depended. The muster of the *Undaunted* may still be seen in the Public Record Office in London. The section covering the period of the voyage from Fréjus to Elba is headed thus:

UNDAUNTED. 5th rate. Complement 300, increased to 315 men as per letter from the Navy Board dated 3rd February, 1813.

Continued Wages and Sea victualling from the Former Books and paid to First of Sept., 1810.

Muster-Table of His Majesty's Ship the *Undaunted* between the First of April and the Thirty-first of May, 1814.

There follow, at the foot of page 1, the signatures:

Thos. Hastings  
James Hastings  
G. Sidney Smith  
(one illegible)  
J. Wood  
P. Blackie

All the returns are countersigned from time to time "Thos. Ussher."

On page 51 at the end of the muster, which has enumerated all ranks of those on board, including some prisoners of war, comes the heading: "Super-numeraries for V.O." (*i.e.*, "Victualling Only," not wages). The pages that follow have been ruled and headed in the same way as those preceding them; and the purser (if it was he who made the entries) was evidently rather puzzled how to fit them in. These headings are: "No." (every name is numbered, consecutively throughout the muster); "Entry," "Year," "Appearance" (*i.e.*, the day and year when the person was first entered on the ship's books, and the date at which he actually came on board); "Whence and whether Prest or not" (*i.e.*, the port at which he came on board, and whether willingly or from the press gang); "Place and Country where born"; "Men's Names"; "D.D.D. or R." (*i.e.*, how the man came to leave the ship, if no longer on board—Discharged, Discharged Dead, or Run away); "Time of Discharge"; and finally, "Whither or for what Reasons."

The first entry on this page is:

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give entire credit to as undoubtedly genuine." But the particulars given both about the incident at Marseilles and at Fréjus are either so at variance with those given by Ussher and Smith, or read so much like embroideries upon them, that they deserve little credit.

[No.] 1920; [Entry] 29 Apr.; [Year] 1814; [Appearance] Ap. 29; [Whence, etc.] Fréjus; [Place and Country where born] For a passage to the Island of Elbe [*sic*] by order; [Men's names] NAPOLEON (late) Emperor of the French; [D.DD. etc.] D.; [Time of Discharge] 4th May; [Whither or for what Reasons] Port Ferrara [*sic*], Isle of Elbe [*sic*].

Then follow the names of Napoleon's companions:

- 1921 Genl. Koeler
- 1922 Count Clam
- 1923 Colonel Campbell
- 1924 Count Bertrand
- 1925 Count Drouot
- 1926 Baron Germanowski

and the rest of the suite, numbered from 1927 to 1954.<sup>4</sup>

Though fifteen fewer than the total estimated by the log on April 28, this addition of thirty-five passengers was a serious strain upon the accommodation and food supply of the *Undaunted*; the captain was not the only officer to give up his private quarters, and it is not surprising to find this record in the log on the third day of the voyage: "Slaughtered 15 sheep, weighing 367 lbs," and on the fourth day: "opened Beef, 2 casks at 42 p. Pork 2 at 53. Rum 88 galls. Sugar 406 lbs. Peese 5 bushels."

On Friday, April 29, the first morning at sea, Napoleon was up at four o'clock, "his usual hour" (says Ussher) "and had a cup of strong coffee (his constant custom), and at seven came on deck, and seemed not in the least affected by the motion of the ship. At this moment [the log seems to say '5,' but it might be '8'] we were exchanging numbers with the *Malta*, standing toward Genoa, and I telegraphed that I had the Emperor on board." The *Malta*, an 80-gun ship, flying the flag of Rear Admiral Halcowell, was on her way to join the Anglo-Sicilian force under Lord William Bentinck and Sir Edward Pellew which had captured Genoa on April 18.

The wind now changed to the southeast, and the *Undaunted* hauled on the larboard tack toward Corsica. "At ten we breakfasted, . . . Napoleon was in very good spirits, and seemed desirous to show that, though he had ambition, England was not without her share also. He said that ever since the time of Cromwell we had set up extraordinary pretensions, and arrogated to ourselves the dominion of the sea." He talked also of a commercial treaty that he claimed to have been ready to make at the time of the peace of Amiens (Holland Rose notes that he could find no record of this); of the

<sup>4</sup> The list of names is printed in Ussher's account: in *Century Magazine*, XLV, 681; in Rose, p. 107.

question of Malta; of the prospects of his return to France, where the manufacturing district of Lyon was in his favor; of Spain; of the Walcheren expedition; and of other topics. Campbell, who also records this conversation, says that "throughout the voyage Napoleon conducted himself with the greatest condescension and cordiality towards us all. He remarked himself that he had never felt in better health, and officers of his suite observed that they had never seen him appear more at his ease." Truchsess quotes Koller to the same effect, and shows that Napoleon's new mood was due to relief at having escaped from the troubles of the land journey. "As you know, my dear General," he said, "I showed myself at my very worst [*cul-nu*]; but, frankly, don't you agree that those scandalous scenes were secretly instigated by the French government?" We have a sketch of his personal appearance at this time, quoted by Norwood Young from Lieutenant Hastings: "His height is 5 feet 5 inches, inclining to fatness which makes him appear inactive and unwieldy. His eyes are grey, extremely penetrating: the expression of his countenance by no means agreeable; and his manners far from dignified or graceful."

"After breakfasting [Ussher continues], Napoleon read for some hours, and came on deck about two o'clock, remaining two or three hours, occasionally remarking what was going forward, as the men were employed in the ordinary duties of the ship, mending sails, drawing yarns, exercising the guns, etc." At noon the log shows that the *Undaunted* was still off the French coast near Antibes, for it says: "Margaretta islands N.W. 6 or 7 miles."

Here Campbell records an incident which is confirmed by the ship's log, but which Captain Ussher's narrative omits. "Upon April 29 [he says] we communicated with H.M. Brig *Merope*, Capt. Roberts, which remained in company all day." (The log has "3, Joined Co. H.M. Brig *Merope*. Hove to, and the commander came on board. 6 *Merope* in Co. 11 *Merope* in Co.") "This officer [Campbell continues] came on board and dined with Napoleon. After dinner he [Napoleon] referred to a map of Toulon, and went over the whole of the operations against Lord Hood and General O'Hara." "This evening [to return to Ussher's narrative] a small Genoese trading-vessel passed near us. I ordered her to be examined, and, as Napoleon was anxious to know the news, I desired the captain to be sent on board. Napoleon was on the quarter-deck; he wore a great-coat and round hat"; and the Genoese evidently took him for the captain of the ship; for, when Ussher saw him afterwards, the Genoese remarked, "Your captain is the most extraordinary man I ever met; he put all sorts of questions to me, and, without giving me time to reply, repeated the same questions to me rapidly a second time." When Ussher reported this conversation to Napoleon, "he said it was the

only way to get at the truth from such fellows." (Campbell places what is apparently the same incident on May 2 off the Corsican coast.)

No record remains of the next day, Saturday, April 30, in Ussher's narrative. His next entry begins with "One morning" and is followed, after much conversation with Napoleon, by "This evening," referring to an incident which the log places on the following day, May 1. The log for the thirtieth mentions only that at daylight Cape Gros was eleven to thirteen miles northeast, that at midday Corsica was sighted, and that at four P.M. it was east southeast; it adds "Seamen drawing and knotting yarns. Sailmaker repairing hammocks." But Campbell records an incident which, as it is placed between April 29 and May 1, should belong to this day.

At table one day [he says] Napoleon showed us his snuff-box, on which is a portrait of the Empress, with a date set in diamonds. This led him to produce another, on which was the figure of a naked infant, representing the King of Rome. He did not seem at all affected in referring to the Empress, but of the other he spoke with some feeling, and mentioned that the child did not wish to quit Paris when the family were going to Orleans; that he held by his hands on to the table, and they were obliged to tear *le pauvre diable* away by force.

Ussher's next entry should refer to Sunday, May 1:

One morning when Napoleon was on deck, I ordered the ship to be tacked, and we stood toward the Ligurian coast. The weather was very clear as we approached the land. We had a fine view of the Alps. He leaned on my arm and gazed at them with great earnestness for nearly half an hour; his eye appeared quite fixed. I remarked that he had passed those mountains on a former occasion under very different circumstances. He merely said that it was very true.

The position of the *Undaunted* at this time is given by the log, which records that at daylight Cape Reviletta was sighted nineteen to twenty miles northeast, and at noon Gargola island (*i.e.*, Gargona, off Leghorn) ten miles north northeast. From the latter position the Maritime Alps would be about 120 miles away: to call this "approaching the land" is a naval hyperbole, to say the least.

The wind was by now increasing to gale force, and Napoleon amused himself by trying to frighten Koller, who was a bad sailor, with talk of the danger they might be in.

We now tacked [says Ussher], and stood over toward the Corsican shore, passing a small vessel that he was very anxious for me to hail for news. I told him we could not get near enough for that purpose, as she was to windward, crossing us on the opposite tack. We were then at table; he whispered to me to fire at her and bring her down. I expressed my surprise at his request, as it would denationalize

her (referring to his Milan decree). He pinched my ear, and laughed, remarking that the Treaty of Utrecht directs that when vessels are boarded it shall be done out of gunshot.

There followed more talk about the continental blockade, Toulon, Cherbourg, Antwerp, and Napoleon's naval plans. He expressed his admiration for the method and discipline of the British navy.

The wind still continuing to the eastward, with a heavy sea, we stood in [continues Ussher] to get well within the Corsican shore. . . . There now being every appearance of bad weather, I mentioned my intention, if the gale increased, of anchoring at Bastia. [Napoleon would have preferred Ajaccio or Calvi], with which he was perfectly acquainted, mentioning the depth of water, with other remarks on the harbor, etc., which convinced me that he would have made us an excellent pilot had we touched there.

This evening we fell in and exchanged numbers with the *Berwick*, *Aigle*, and *Alcmene*, with a convoy. [*Alcmène*, forty-four guns, had been captured from the French off the Canaries on January 16.] I invited Sir John Lewis and Captain Coghlan to dine with me. When they came on board I presented them to Napoleon; he asked them various questions about their ships, their sailing and other qualities. Captain Coghlan was not a little surprised by his asking him if he were not an Irishman and a Roman Catholic.

Campbell adds to this account that Napoleon "was extremely anxious to know the state of affairs in Corsica, whether there were any armed parties in the interior, whether the Deputation sent to Genoa, requesting the presence of a naval and military force, came only from Bastia, or also from the whole island." Napoleon's interest in this point is intelligible enough when one remembers the feud between Bastia and Ajaccio in his early days on the island. The log thus records the meeting with the convoy: "At 1 observed convoy to windward. 1.30 tacked and exchanged Nos. with H.M. ships *Berwick*, *Alcmene*, and *l'Aigle*. 4 squadron in Co. 6 the *l'Aigle* and *Alcmene* in Co: the *Pembroke* and transports to leeward. 6.30 hove to. 8 bore up, made all sail, and parted with *l'Aigle* and *Alcmene*." From this it is evident that it was the captains of *Aigle* and *Alcmene* who dined with Napoleon: *Berwick* and *Pembroke* had to remain with the six transports which they were convoying to Ajaccio—a small expeditionary force under General Montresor sent to receive the surrender of the island.

At daylight on Monday, May 2, the *Undaunted* was off Calvi. ("Light breezes and fine. 6.30. The town of Calva [*sic*] South 5 or 6 miles"—log.)

Napoleon was on deck [says Ussher] earlier than usual; he seemed in high spirits, looked most earnestly at the shore, asking the officers questions relative to landing-places, etc. As we closed with the shore the wind moderated. During the bad

weather Napoleon remained constantly on deck, and was not in the least affected by the motion of the ship. This was not the case, however, with his attendants, who suffered a good deal.

The wind now coming off the land, we hauled close inshore. Napoleon took great delight in examining it with his glass, and told us many anecdotes of his younger days. We rounded a bold, rocky cape, within two or three cables' lengths, and Napoleon, addressing himself to Baron Koller, said he thought a walk on the shore would do them good, and proposed landing to explore the cliffs. The Baron whispered that he knew him too well to trust him on such an excursion, and begged me not to listen to his suggestion.

We now hauled in toward the Gulf of St. Florent, fired a gun, and brought to a felucca from Genoa, who informed us that Sir Edward Pellew, the commander-in-chief, and fleet were lying there. We then shaped our course for Cape Corso, which we passed in the night.

We are now near the end of the voyage, which was at last favored with good winds.

In the morning [of Tuesday, May 3] we tacked, and stood toward Capraja Isle, and, observing colors flying at the castle, stood close in and hove to. A deputation came off from the island, requesting me to take possession of it, and informing me that there was a French garrison in the castle. I accordingly sent Lieutenant Smith with a party of seamen to hoist the British colors for its protection. Napoleon held a long conversation with the members of the deputation, who expressed the utmost surprise at finding their Emperor on board an English man-of-war.

The log adds some details:

Light breezes. Daylight, the island of Elba S.E. 9 or 10 leagues. At 8 tacked ship and stood towards Capria Island [it is so spelled in both logs. The flag flying at the castle is called the "English colors," so that Ussher's memory misled him into thinking it was necessary for Lieutenant Smith to hoist them]. A boat came from Capria with part of the inhabitants. Sent Lieut. Smith to take charge of the island. 11 made all sail towards Elba island.

Having now made all sail [says Ussher], and shaped our course for Elba, Napoleon became very impatient to see it, and asked if we had every sail set. I told him we had set all that could be of any use. He said, "Were you in chase of an enemy's frigate, should you make more sail?" I looked, and, seeing that the star-board topgallant stunsail was not set, observed that if I were in chase of an enemy I should certainly carry it. He replied, that if it could be of use in that case, it might be so now. I mention this anecdote to show what a close observer he was; in fact, nothing escaped him. When the man stationed at the masthead hailed the deck that Elba was right ahead, he became exceedingly impatient, went forward to the forecabin, and as soon as the land could be seen from the deck was very particular in inquiring what colors were flying on the batteries. . . . On nearing Elba, General Drouot, Comte Clam, . . . and Lieutenant Hastings, the first lieutenant of the *Undaunted*, were sent ashore, commissioned by Napoleon to take possession of the island. Colonel Campbell accompanied them. They were con-



ducted to the house of General Dalheme [*sic*], who had received orders from the provisional Government only two days before, in consequence of which he and his troops had given in their adhesion to Louis XVIII., and had hoisted the white flag. The general expressed his desire to do whatever should be agreeable to the Emperor.

The log's account is: "2.30 sent the cutter with Lieut. Hastings to Port Ferrara [so the captain's log; the ship's log has Ferraro]. 7.30 the cutter returned. received a pilot on board. set main sail. 9 shortened sail. anchored in 18 fathoms. Midnight fine weather."

The deputation that went ashore had with it a letter from Napoleon to General Dalesme, written at Fréjus on April 27:

MONSIEUR LE GÉNÉRAL DALESME,

Circumstances having led me to renounce the throne of France, thus sacrificing my rights to the welfare and interests of the fatherland, I have kept for myself the sovereignty of the island of Elba and the Forts of Porto-Ferrago [*sic*] and Portolongone, with the consent of the Powers. I therefore send you General Drouot so that you may without delay hand over the said island to him, with its stores of munitions and food, and such properties as belong to my imperial domain. Please make known to the inhabitants this new state of affairs, and the choice I have made of their island for my residence, on the ground of the mildness of their manners and the clemency of their climate. They will be the constant object of my liveliest interest.

With the letter came an invitation, or rather a royal command, that a deputation of the islanders should wait upon the emperor. There are two accounts of this affair, which put rather different complexions upon it. The more elaborate comes from Pons de l'Hérault,<sup>5</sup> a French engineer of republican sentiments in charge of the iron mines upon the island; he was one of the principals taking part in it but was too much concerned with his own opinions and too much overwhelmed by the occasion to be a good witness. He writes:

We boarded the English frigate; we came on deck, and the officer who had received us at the ladder led us to the captain's cabin, where we found General Bertrand. He was alone, sitting down, and seemed in a reverie. He rose to answer our greetings, but, as he could not stand, he sank back at once into his seat, and made no attempt at conversation. His color was pale; but he had on the whole a pleasant look. Colonel Campbell had entered with us, as well as General Koller: he was an Austrian, a commissioner of the coalition, but in spite of that as polite as possible.

Napoleon was announced. The emperor appeared at once on the threshold of his cabin. We were at once profoundly moved. Instinctively we bunched together and remained in a kind of enchantment. Our attitude was indeed one of con-

<sup>5</sup> *Souvenirs et anecdotes de l'île d'Elbe* (1897).



temptation. The emperor halted a moment, as though to consider us. We made a movement towards him, and he came to us. General Koller and Colonel Campbell were extremely deferential. The emperor was wearing the green uniform of the *chasseurs* of the Imperial Guard, with a colonel's epaulettes. The star of the Legion of Honor fixed in his buttonhole was that of a simple *chevalier*, and he was not wearing the iron crown. He was carefully dressed; one might call it *toilet militaire de salon*. His bearing was calm, his eyes were bright, his look seemed to express benevolence, and a dignified smile touched his lips. His arms were crossed behind his back. We thought he had come without a hat, but when he came towards us we saw to our surprise that he held in his right hand a small round sailor's hat.

General Dalesme muttered to the emperor some words of respect and affection. We too tried to stammer a few words; emotion made our eloquence persuasive. The emperor realized this, and replied with a quite paternal kindness, as though he had understood everything we had not been able to say to him. He seemed to have prepared his replies; indeed his conversation too gave the impression of preparation; it was so clear and precise. He gave a short narrative of the misfortunes of France; and he told the story as though he had not been the axis of all those important events. It was only when he spoke of the circumstances which had robbed him of victory that his speech became really animated. His sentiments burned with patriotism. He declared his intention of devoting himself henceforth to the happiness of the people of Elba. Then he said he would not enter Porto Ferrajo until the new flag that he wished to adopt was hoisted there. He wanted the municipality to come and give him some ideas on this point. Before dismissing us he had a moment's private conversation with General Dalesme; then he spoke a few words to each of us separately; my own share was the smallest, for he only asked me what my duties were. We retired; and the officer on duty conducted us back to the boats.

Fabry's account, perhaps based on the private conversation with General Dalesme that Pons mentions, is a little different: "The ex-emperor," he writes, "took little pains to disguise his scorn at the sight of what was a very slender deputation; and, after questioning it about the island and its inhabitants, he sent it away, giving it orders to assemble at once all the *curés* and mayors of the neighboring villages." This was accordingly done, in the expectation that Napoleon would land the same evening; but at eleven o'clock he put off his landing till the next day. The commissioners and French officers (Fabry says) spent part of the night on shore, "visiting all the public places, and trying to discover the feelings of the inhabitants." There was indeed some doubt as to how Napoleon would be received. On April 21, not much more than a week before his arrival, the Italian garrison of Porto Longone, the second town of the island, had mutinied, killed several of their officers, and decamped to the mainland. The next day the garrison of Porto Ferrajo itself had been given the choice of returning to Italy, and, being mostly Italians, had done so. On the twenty-seventh, when the first rumor

of Napoleon's abdication reached the island, some of the inhabitants of Porto Ferrajo had backed General Montresor's demand that General Dalesme should surrender the island to the British; but he had refused, and continued to do so even when official confirmation of the rumor came the next day; for he had previously had no official news for two months and feared it might be a trap. He was at last persuaded that the news was true and hoisted the Bourbon flag—only forty-eight hours before Napoleon's arrival; if the *Undaunted* had not been delayed by contrary winds she might have found the place still in republican hands and might have been unable to take possession. The tricolor still flew at Porto Longone, and most of the island was for independence from any foreign power, whether Italian, French, or English. There was indeed, as Truchsess says, a state of anarchy, in which the rival parties consented *faute de mieux* to receive Napoleon, who might bring them profit, if not peace.

On Wednesday, May 4, the day on which he was to enter into possession of his new dominion,

Napoleon was on deck at daylight [says Ussher], and talked for two hours with the harbor-master, who had come on board to take charge of the ship as pilot, questioning him minutely about the anchorage, fortifications, etc. At six we weighed anchor, and made sail into the harbor; anchored at half-past six at the Mole Head, hoisted out all the boats, and sent some of the baggage on shore. At eight the Emperor asked me for a boat, as he intended to take a walk on the opposite side of the bay, and requested me to go with him. He wore a great-coat and a round hat.

Bertrand, Campbell, and Vincent, the chief engineer of the *Undaunted*, went too, but Koller declined.

When half-way ashore Napoleon remarked that he was without a sword, and soon afterward asked if the peasants of Tuscany [to which state Elba had belonged previous to its annexation by France] were addicted to assassination. We walked for about two hours. The peasants, taking us for Englishmen, cried "Viva!" which seemed to displease him.

We returned on board for breakfast. He afterward fixed upon a flag for Elba, requesting me to remain while he did so.

This question had been in Napoleon's busy mind for some time. At Fréjus he had headed a list of queries to Campbell with "What is the Elba flag?" It had been one of the undertakings made by the allies at Fontainebleau that they would exact respect for the Elba flag from the Barbary States, whose pirates were a standing threat to the islanders; and it was an important symbol of Napoleon's sovereignty.

He had a book [Ussher continues] with all the ancient and modern flags of Tus-

cany; he asked my opinion of that which he had chosen. It was a white flag with a red band running diagonally through it, with three bees on the band (the bees were in his arms as emperor of France). He then requested me to allow the ship's tailor to make two, one of them to be hoisted on the batteries at one o'clock.

Pons de l'Hérault has much to say about this flag. He claims to have suggested an alternative design, in which the band was not red, but red, white, and blue, and without any bees on it; and he says that they were busy on shore constructing two or three big flags to this design, apparently during the night preceding the landing. If this was the municipality's way of complying with Napoleon's request for their ideas on the subject, they soon found themselves overruled. In Lieutenant Smith's picture of the disembarkation (*Naval Chronicle*, XXXV, 513) the flag with the red band and the bees is unmistakably flying both from Napoleon's boat and from the fort. One of these flags was (and may be still) shown to visitors to the town hall at Porto Ferrajo; from a photograph it would appear to be about twelve feet by eight, and the bees, of a conventional design, some nine inches long.

At 2 P.M. [Ussher continues] the barge was manned; he begged me to show him the way down the side of the vessel, which I did, and was soon followed by the Emperor, Baron Koller, Comte Bertrand, and Comte Clam. The yards being manned, we fired a royal salute, as did two French corvettes which were lying in the harbor at that time. The ship was surrounded by boats with the principal inhabitants and bands of music on board; the air resounded with shouts of "Vive l'Empereur! Vive Napoleon!" On landing, he was received by the prefect, the clergy, and all the authorities, and the keys were presented to him on a plate, upon which he made a complimentary speech to the prefect, the people welcoming him with loud acclamations.

We proceeded to the church through a double file of soldiers, and thence to the hôtel de ville, where the principal inhabitants were assembled, with several of whom he conversed. Remarking an old soldier in the crowd (he was a sergeant, I believe, and wore the order of the Legion of Honor), he called him to him, and recollected having given that decoration on the field of battle at Eylau. The old soldier shed tears; the idea of being remembered by his Emperor fairly overcame him. He felt, I doubt not, that it was the proudest day of his life. Napoleon afterward mounted a horse, and, attended by a dozen persons, visited some of the out-works, having, before leaving the ship, invited me to dine with him at seven o'clock. I ordered all my wine and stock to be handed to him for his use, the island being destitute of provisions of that sort.

Fabry adds some touches to this picture which are in harmony with the slightly ironic tone of Ussher's last sentence.

The disembarkation [he says] was announced by a salute of twenty-one guns from the frigate, which was repeated by the cannon of the fortress. The ex-emperor then appeared in a pinnace, dressed in a blue riding coat over a tunic embroidered

with silver, on which he wore a special decoration, also of silver. He wore a round hat decorated with a cockade. [This was probably of the same design as the flag; Pons says they were worn so.] As he stepped on shore, he received the keys of the town from the hands of the commandant, and was harangued by the *sous-préfet*. He then took his place under the canopy and marched toward the parish church. His expression was uncommonly somber, and his eyes shifted from one to another of the people surrounding him, trying to make out what they thought, and endeavoring in vain to hide the feelings of distrust and fear which he himself experienced; for he could not be reassured by the demonstrations addressed to him. After his arrival at the church they sang a *Te Deum*, during which Napoleon seemed to be very much affected, and even shed some tears, raising his eyes toward heaven. [Fabry adds a footnote of uncomplimentary comparison with Julian the Apostate.] When the ceremony was over, the ex-emperor made for the *Mairie*, where rooms had been prepared for him, at a rapid pace, almost at a run.

Baron Koller too watched the scene with an ironical eye. His account, as given by Truchsess, makes Napoleon's speech on landing repeat the phrases of his letter to General Dalesme. After giving the reasons for his coming to Elba, it ends: "I hope that you appreciate my preference for this island, and that you will love me as obedient children [*enfants soumis*]; if so, you will always find me in a mood to treat you with a father's care."

Three violins and two double basses [such is Fabry's comment] which had accompanied the deputation startled this indulgent father with their harmonious sounds. They led him, under a canopy decorated with gilt paper and faded scraps of scarlet cloth, to his place of residence. He was to put up at the Hôtel de Ville. They had decorated the hall commonly used for public dances with a few small pictures, some glass candelabra, and an imperial throne hastily rigged up, and, like the hall, decorated with a lot of gold paper and scraps of scarlet cloth. The chapel band followed him into the hall, and made it resound with such moving strains that the prince, deeply moved, asked to be taken to his room as soon as possible.

Visitors to Elba today—if things are as they were before the war—will put up at the "Elba Bee Hotel" (*Albergo dell' Ape Elbana*); they will be shown the Elban flag in the town hall, and in the parish church *La teste di Napoleone*—a massive coffin containing a bronze bust of Napoleon, which figures in a funeral mass every fifth of May, the anniversary of his death, and almost that of his landing on the island; and they will read an inscription in flowery French recording how in the year 1802 the infant Victor Hugo was brought to Porto Ferrajo by his parents: "Here was born that speech which later, like a lava-torrent of sacred fire, was to run through the veins of the peoples." For France has her own heroes.

*Oxford, England*

\* \* \* *Notes and Suggestions* \* \* \*

## London and the Twenty Ships, 1626-1627

MELVIN C. WREN

CHARLES I inherited from his father an empty treasury and a debt of nearly a million pounds, and three fourths of the revenue for the coming year had been anticipated. The inheritance also included a war with Spain, into which James had been pressed by the parliament of 1624. To meet the costs of the war, estimated at £700,000 for the year, the first parliament of the new reign granted only two subsidies, or about £120,000.<sup>1</sup> The second parliament in 1626 was even less responsive, and Charles was forced to find other means to discharge the commitments which had been thrust upon him.

An expedition to Cadiz in 1625 had failed in its purpose to take the Spanish treasure fleet and had served only to provoke possible retaliation. To the king's other worries now was added the need to look to the defense of his own coasts. Under similar threat in Elizabeth's time the burden of defense had been shared by the crown and the port towns, and the king was advised that the present situation should be faced in the same way.

In January, 1626, the lord mayor of London received a letter from the Privy Council stating that the lower Thames would have to be guarded by ten ships of two hundred tons each or larger and asking that the City bear half the expense, as it had shared the cost of defending the river in 1588.<sup>2</sup> The citizens begged to be excused on the grounds that many had been impoverished by the plague in 1625, the worst in living memory, and that the City's revenues would not bear such a charge.<sup>3</sup> It may be noted that the cost

<sup>1</sup> John Rushworth, *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State* (London, 1721), I, 172-79; *Journals of the House of Lords* (London, no date), III, 435-36, 470-71; Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of England*, V (London, 1884), 397-435.

<sup>2</sup> Lords of the Council to the Lord Mayor, Jan. 23, 1625, Remembrancia of the City of London (MSS. deposited in the Record Office of the City of London, abbreviated hereafter as Remembrancia), VI, No. 93. The eight volumes of Remembrancia are calendared in W. H. and H. C. Overall, *Analytical Index to the Series of Records Known as the Remembrancia of the City of London* (London, 1878) (abbreviated hereafter as *Index*.) The letter here cited appears also in *Acts of the Privy Council of England* (hereafter cited as *A. P. C.*), 1625-1626, pp. 320-21. As early as the previous August, Sir John Wolstenholme, one of the richest of the City's own merchants, had warned against leaving the Thames unguarded and had urged a tightening of the City's defenses. Wolstenholme and Burrell to Sir John Coke, Aug. 31, 1625, *Cowper MSS.*, Historical Manuscripts Commission (hereafter cited as H. M. C.), Twelfth Report, I, 211. All dates unless otherwise indicated are old style.

<sup>3</sup> Order of the Court of Aldermen, Jan. 24, 1625, Repertory of the Court of Aldermen (MSS. deposited in the Record Office of the City of London, hereafter cited as Repertory), XL, fols. 78b, 89.

of the five ships asked for would have run to no more than £5,000, half the amount which London later contributed weekly to the support of parliament during the Civil War. The City's answer to the Privy Council concluded that the service was not "such as concerned them otherwise than the whole kingdom, the defense of which is a regal work."<sup>4</sup> Whether because the government hoped to find the second parliament, then sitting, more responsive than the first, or because the negotiations for an alliance with France seemed to promise assistance against the Spanish threat, the matter was dropped and London was relieved of the charge.

Almost immediately after the dissolution of the second parliament, which refused to accept any responsibility for the financial burdens demanding attention, the Privy Council appealed to the City for a loan of £100,000 to the king.<sup>5</sup> After pleading the slowness of trade consequent upon the epidemic of the previous year, expressing disappointment at the dissolution of parliament, and quibbling over the security offered,<sup>6</sup> and after several times refusing to lend anything, the aldermen agreed personally to advance £20,000 for one year on the bond of the farmers of the petty customs, "scarce enough to buy a dozen points."<sup>7</sup> The Privy Council then drew up a list of one hundred and fifty Londoners known to be capable of lending the king a thousand pounds each, "but the first refusal led to a second and they did not persist."<sup>8</sup>

To throw the enemy upon the defensive and to disrupt Spanish shipping it was decided to put to sea a fleet composed of elements from the royal navy and vessels impressed from the coast towns.<sup>9</sup> London was asked to provide "twenty of the best ships now in the river," fully equipped and manned, and victualled for three months at sea, to be at the rendezvous at Portsmouth by the coming fourth of September.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Lord Mayor to the Council, Feb. 13, 1625, Remembrancia, VI, No. 95 (*Index*, 248-49); *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic* (abbreviated hereafter as *Cal. S. P. Dom.*), 1625-1626, p. 254. I have modernized punctuation and spelling in all materials taken from manuscript.

<sup>5</sup> Remembrancia, VI, No. 89 (*Index*, p. 195); *A. P. C. 1626*, pp. 20-21; Repertory, XL, fols. 272-72b.

<sup>6</sup> Letter to Mead, June 30; Mead to Stuteville, June 24, July 1, 1626, *Court and Times of Charles I*, ed. by R. F. Williams (London, 1848) (cited hereafter as *Court and Times*), I, 115-17; Salvetti's Despatches, July 3, 10, 1626, n. s., *Skirine MSS.* (H. M. C.), pp. 76-77; Correr and Contarini to the Doge, July 3, 1626, n. s., *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian* (hereafter abbreviated as *Cal. S. P. Ven.*), 1625-1626, p. 463.

<sup>7</sup> Repertory, XL, fol. 279; Rudyerd to Nethersole, July 9; Cruse to Lady Carnsew, July, 1626, *Cal. S. P. Dom. 1625-1626*, pp. 371, 392.

<sup>8</sup> *A. P. C. 1626*, p. 66; *Cal. S. P. Ven. 1625-1626*, p. 603.

<sup>9</sup> The ports directed to provide ships are listed in *A. P. C. 1626*, pp. 47-48. The same list is in *State Papers Domestic, Charles I* (Public Record Office), XXX, No. 81, with changes made later reducing the number by four. Fifty-three ships were to be set forth, of which London was to provide twenty.

<sup>10</sup> Privy Council to the Lord Mayor, Aug. 4, 1626, Journal of the Court of Common Council (MSS. deposited in the Record Office of the City of London, hereafter cited as *Journal*), XXXIII, fol. 279b; Remembrancia, VI, No. 98 (*Index*, pp. 249-50); *A. P. C. 1626*, pp. 158-59.



The request was read at a meeting of the Court of Common Council, the lower house of the London legislature, and a committee of the lord mayor and five aldermen was named to carry up the City's answer. After reciting various reasons why the assignment could not possibly be carried out, the Common Council admitted that, given letters of marque to roam at will against enemy shipping, many merchants would be willing to send their own ships against Spain. The offer implied a distaste for service in an organized expedition restricted to military objectives. The Common Council ordered its committee to plead with the Privy Council:

That in anno 1588, when the enemies were upon the coasts to invade this kingdom, then London for her defense was required to set out only ten ships,<sup>11</sup> and now each of the twenty ships required to serve, being of far greater burden than the former ships were, the charge of every ship will now amount to near treble the value as then it did, of which great charge the City humbly desires to be freed; and the rather in respect of the City's present decay in trade and commerce, and that great impoverishment by the late visitation [of plague] and otherwise.

That the matter commanded to be done is not now possible to be performed, both in respect of the shortness of time in which the same is required to be performed, and the unfit season of the year for victualling of ships.

To acquaint their Lordships that, if the subjects may have letters of marque granted unto them, paying those customs and impositions now paid by the merchant to the King's Majesty only (without other charge or expense required, to be freed from unreasonable bonds), then many His Majesty's subjects seem willing to adventure their lives and means against the enemy, to the good of His Majesty and themselves (so they may quietly enjoy what they shall thereby get).<sup>12</sup>

The Privy Council heard the citizens' committee, and answered that the "denial in the name of the City . . . we cannot impute truly to anything but want of duty." The committee returned to the Guildhall with directions to proceed to the furnishing of the twenty ships.<sup>13</sup> Back to the lords the Common Council sent its committee with an offer to provide ten ships and two pinnaces, if the City might name the captains of its own ships and if the Londoners might have consent to roam independently in search of prizes when not actually engaged with the enemy.<sup>14</sup> The committee returned to the

<sup>11</sup> The Court of Common Council erred in stating the number of ships furnished by the City in 1588 at ten. London had furnished twenty, or sixteen ships and four pinnaces. See State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth (Public Record Office), CCXV, No. 82; CCXII, Nos. 30, 68; CCXIII, Nos. 15, 16; CCXVI, No. 11; and Minutes of the Court of Common Council, Apr. 3, July 16, Aug. 10, 1588, Journal, XXII, fols. 173-73b, 193, 200b. It is possible that the error resulted from the speed with which action was taken. The answer to the Privy Council was drafted at the same meeting to which the directive from the lords was read. The usual procedure would have been to appoint a committee to draw up a reply, and in doing so to assure itself of its facts. The City may have felt that a hasty and emphatic refusal would lead the council to drop the request.

<sup>12</sup> Order of the Court of Common Council, Aug. 7, 1626, Journal, XXXIII, fol. 280.

<sup>13</sup> *A. P. C.* 1626, p. 166.

<sup>14</sup> Journal, XXXIII, fol. 280b.

Guildhall with the word that "the Lords absolutely denied the acceptance of the said ten ships and two pinnaces, but required the City's provision and performance of and for the whole twenty ships, as by their Lords' letters are required, without any further denial or deferring them." With amazing obstinacy the Common Council added the City recorder to the committee and sent the group back to the Privy Council with a formal petition that the ten ships and two pinnaces be accepted. The citizens insisted that their offer did "exceed anything which in this kind was ever performed by them or desired of them, and [they] do fear that the charge will not well agree with their present ability, and therefore they dare not undertake a greater charge, lest they should fail in the performance."<sup>15</sup>

When the petition was brought before the board, Secretary Coke answered for the Privy Council:

That the former commandment given unto them, first, was necessary because the Board knoweth that the preservation of the State doth require it; secondly, that the charge required for the performance of the said commandment was not immoderate, which for the whole city exceedeth not the proportion of many of their private estates; that to this commandment petitions and pleadings are not to be received which tend to the danger and prejudice of the commonwealth; that as the commandment was given to all in general and to every particular of the city, so the State will require an account both of the city in general and of every particular of the performance of it, for which purpose they had formerly received direction; and that whereas they mention precedents they may know that the precedent of former times was obedience and not direction; and that there are also precedents of the punishment of those who disobey His Majesty's commandments signified by the Board in the case of the preservation of the State, which they [the council] hope there shall be no occasion to let them more particularly understand.<sup>16</sup>

The stern language of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State did not deter the Court of Common Council. The City chamberlain was ordered to bring in a statement of the cost of setting forth "*ten* of the best ships in the river of Thames and two pinnaces in their full equipage . . . manned and victualled for three months."<sup>17</sup>

Whether tempers cooled over the weekend, or whether the chamberlain's investigation showed the cost of providing the ships to be much less than had been expected, is not known. But when the Common Council convened on Monday, August 14, it was agreed to set forth the twenty ships,<sup>18</sup> and a com-

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 281.

<sup>16</sup> *A. P. C.* 1626, p. 180; Rushworth, I, 415-16.

<sup>17</sup> Journal, XXXIII, fol. 281b. Italics mine.

<sup>18</sup> It is not unlikely that the City committee bargained verbally with the council in an attempt to get off with less than twenty ships. "The city hath yielded to set about sixteen ships, but are urged for twenty." Pory to Mead, Aug. 11, 1626, *Court and Times*, I, 139.



mittee was appointed to sit at Clothworkers' Hall to see to the provision of ships, men, and stores. Not the least important nor the easiest of the committee's assignments was to recommend a way of raising the cost. The Privy Council was informed of the City's acquiescence and at the same time was asked that London might name the captains and other officers of the ships it provided and that the City fleet might seize prizes on its own initiative when not needed against the enemy.<sup>19</sup> As the Londoners must have known, these requests could not be fully met. The Privy Council agreed that the City might name all officers except the captains, the appointment of whom was a prerogative of the lord high admiral; but the council doubted not that if London recommended "fit and sufficient persons" to be captains, the lord admiral would accept their nominations. The City ships would be free to seek prizes only after the service was at an end.<sup>20</sup>

During the next fortnight very little was done by the City to speed the enterprise which it had opposed so stubbornly. The ships were got ready so slowly that it became apparent that all twenty could not possibly be at Portsmouth by the appointed time. On August 28 the Privy Council called up the recorder and some of the aldermen and offered that seven of His Majesty's ships, which were ready to sail but had not been stocked with provisions, might be leased to the City, since it was quite obvious that London could not get her own ships ready in time for the service. The aldermen "took time to make answer" and hurried back to the Guildhall.<sup>21</sup> When they returned to the council table it was "to desire to be excused of taking the seven ships, in regard the City is already provided of their whole number of twenty."<sup>22</sup>

The twenty ships were expected to cost London £18,000, a figure which bore out Coke's assertion that the sum would be no greater than many citizens' individual estates. On September 5, the day after the ships should have

<sup>19</sup> Journal, XXXIII, fols. 282–82b.

<sup>20</sup> *A. P. C. 1626*, p. 191; Journal, XXXIII, fols. 327–27b.

<sup>21</sup> At this meeting Buckingham reminded the citizens that, on several occasions during the debate over the twenty ships, some of the aldermen had grandly avowed "a great part of the merchants of the City to be very forward to undertake some actions at sea which might tend to the great prejudice and weakening of His Majesty's enemies and to their own benefit and advantage, so as they might be freed from other payments of His Majesty's rights and customs." The duke promised that, if any of the Londoners were still of that mind, he would waive his rights to a share of the prizes, and that he would join them in the venture with his credit as well as advice, and that he would urge the rest of the Privy Council to do so, "to which the Board did with one voice assent." But "the said committee of the City did take time to answer." *A. P. C. 1626*, pp. 230–31.

<sup>22</sup> Journal, XXXIII, fol. 299. A careful reporter has this to say of the lords' offer and the citizens' reaction: "The Londoners do actually set forth the twenty sail formerly mentioned, who heretofore pretending they could not find ships enough in the river to serve for men of war, some of the Lords answered you shall [have] seven or eight of the king's ships, into which you may [put] victual and munition. 'No,' said they, 'the king's ships are sacred: we dare not meddle with them;' considering with themselves, if they once should have victualled the king's ships, it would have been drawn into a precedent." Pory to Mead, Sept. 2, 1626, *Court and Times*, I, 143–44.

been at Portsmouth, the Common Council agreed on the means of raising the charge. All residents of the City who were assessed toward the relief of the poor were to pay an amount equal to four years' poor relief. If anyone refused to pay the ship money, his goods to that value were to be seized, held three days, and then sold at auction and the "surplusage," if any, returned to the taxpayer. The Court of Common Council neglected to enact the usual provision to "save harmless" the assessors and collectors of the tax.<sup>23</sup> The lord mayor's precept went out the next day to the churchwardens and collectors of poor relief in each parish to proceed to the collection of the ship money. One week later a second precept complained that the collections were not being prosecuted and urged the distraint of goods of those who held back payment.<sup>24</sup>

The service, however, could not wait for collections to come in from the parishes. On the very day on which the Common Council provided for the assessment and levy of the tax, the Court of Aldermen approved a loan of £5,000 from the City treasury or chamber to John Raney, treasurer for the twenty ships, the money to be repaid when Raney received it from local collectors.<sup>25</sup> The sum of £2,000 more was advanced to Raney on September 26, £3,000 in the following January, and another £3,000 in February.<sup>26</sup> Most of this was never repaid into the chamber, and the chamberlain carried in his annual report, year after year, under debts owing to the City, the item: "the account for setting out and furnishing to the seas the number of twenty ships for His Majesty's service oweth £9,334 16s 8d."<sup>27</sup> The money, of course, was owed to the chamber not by the crown but by those Londoners who refused to pay the levy.

The collection in the parishes proceeded very slowly and immediately encountered resistance. The opposition shown earlier by the aldermen and common councilmen had been noted by every Londoner. Now that opposition was taken up by individual taxpayers, and it was early suspected that

<sup>23</sup> Journal, XXXIII, fols. 299b-300.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 300b, 303b.

<sup>25</sup> Repertory, XL, fol. 353.

<sup>26</sup> Repertory, XLI, fols. 90b, 92, 104b-5, 133b.

<sup>27</sup> Chamberlain's Account Books (MSS. deposited in the Record Office of the City of London), Series 1, I, fols. 94b, 181, 272b. From 1652 on the amount paid out of the chamber in 1626 and 1627 was thrown into a general account of uncollectible ship money including that from the levies from 1634 to 1640 (*ibid.*, Series 1, VIII, fol. 56), and in 1656 was no longer noted (*ibid.*, Series 1, IX, fol. 78). Reginald R. Sharpe in his *London and the Kingdom* (London, 1894), II, 100 n., says that "as much as £6,000 was paid out of the chamber in respect of the fleet of twenty ships in the months of January and February, 1627." Although he was records clerk of the City of London, he did not use the chamberlain's account books, and so missed the fact that the chamber paid out in all over £9,334 which it did not recover. See also Melvin C. Wren, "The Chamber of London in 1633," *Economic History Review*, 2d Series, I (1948), 46-53, and "The Chamber of the City of London, 1633-1642," *Accounting Review*, XXIV (April, 1949), 192-98.

little would be collected.<sup>28</sup> The lord mayor and aldermen now virtuously pressed the parish officials, but many openly resisted the pressure. The constable of the parish, whose duty it was to distrain goods when ordered to do so by the churchwardens or collectors of poor relief, served for only one year, and some of the constables apparently hoped to avoid stern measures against their neighbors until they went out of office. Others insisted loudly that the tax should not be levied. Still others refused to distrain because the protecting enactment to save them harmless had not passed either the Common Council or Court of Aldermen.

On September 26, Henry Wedge, constable of the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, was brought before the Court of Aldermen for refusing to confiscate the goods of a parishioner who would not pay ship money. Wedge either would not or could not, at the moment, pay his own assessment, and told the aldermen that he would go to Newgate before he would borrow to pay it. The Court of Aldermen committed him to Newgate gaol until further order, but he was released the following day upon agreement to conform himself to the court's orders.<sup>29</sup> Two days later John Crisman, constable of the parish of St. Faith, was asked by the Court of Aldermen why he had not distrained when ordered to do so. He "asked if any man would give him his bond to save him harmless, alleging that it was told him that it was the duty of the churchwarden to distrain and the constable to keep the peace; and he, being informed to the contrary, said will the Court be of one mind today and of another tomorrow." Thereupon, "for that he obstinately refused to distrain, and for his unmannerly gesture and scoffing speeches in contempt of this Court," Crisman was sent to Newgate.<sup>30</sup>

The failure of the Court of Common Council to add the "save harmless" clause to the assessment act was blocking the smooth operation of the levy. It may be conjectured that, had the goods of a few recalcitrants been confiscated, opposition to the tax might have been broken early. But constables were not distraining, insisting that they could not or dare not to do so.<sup>31</sup> Unless the protective clause should be enacted soon, refusals by minor officials threatened to become epidemic and encouraged taxpayers to scorn the levy since they could do so with impunity. Finally, after neglecting for more than a month to take the one step which might reduce opposition to the ship

<sup>28</sup> Letter to Mead, Sept. 15, 1626, *Court and Times*, I, 148–49.

<sup>29</sup> Repertory, XL, fol. 380.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 382b. The name in one place is spelled "Grismore." See fols. 390b, 391, 393, 400b, 407b, and 413 for the similar cases of George Ward, Thomas Auckell, Robert Hill, Joshua Foote, and Richard Combe, constables of the parishes of St. Mary Woolchurch, St. Mary at Hill, St. Mary Aldermanbury, Allhallows Lombard Street, and Allhallows Bread Street, respectively.

<sup>31</sup> See Letters to Mead, Sept. 22, Oct. 6, 1626, *Court and Times*, I, 150, 154.

money, the Court of Aldermen passed the protective act but pretended that it really was not important. To take away from parish officials "their causeless and needless fear" of being sued for distraining goods without proper authority, it was enacted that, in carrying out their duty, parish officers should "be saved harmless and be put to no charges, but all charges in the defense of any such suit shall be defrayed by the City."<sup>32</sup>

The opposition of constables decreased when the act to save them harmless was passed, but it did not disappear completely. Robert Hill, the constable of St. Mary Aldermanbury, still refused to distrain, as did the constables of St. Leonard Eastcheap, St. Sepulchre, Christ Church, and St. Margaret. All were imprisoned.<sup>33</sup> The two churchwardens of the parish of St. Michael Cornhill charged their constable with refusing to distrain and with not paying his own assessment. Upon examination it appeared that the churchwardens themselves had been "very negligent and remiss" in performing their duties, and had not required the constable to seize goods but "had connived and assented unto him in his not distraining." All three were imprisoned.<sup>34</sup>

In all, sixteen constables and three churchwardens, from sixteen parishes, were imprisoned for refusing to carry out the act assessing money for the twenty ships. The parishes were scattered over twelve of the City's twenty-six wards and ranged from St. Sepulchre's without Newgate in the west to St. Mary at Hill in the east. Official opposition had centered among the constables, not because they opposed the levy any more than did others but because theirs was the unpleasant responsibility to distrain when ordered to do so.<sup>35</sup> The office of constable, incidentally, was not a mean one. It carried with it heavy burdens and heavy responsibilities and was an office through which a majority of common councilmen and aldermen, and consequently lord mayors, passed in their rise to grander position.

The enactment of the "save harmless" clause by the Court of Aldermen ended the opposition of some of the constables. Others, however, now refused to seize goods because, they complained, they knew nothing of the

<sup>32</sup> Repertory, XL, fols. 417b-18.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, XL, fol. 420b; XLI, fols. 56, 57, 90b, 142, 358b.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 142b.

<sup>35</sup> A Londoner informed his friend at Cambridge: "Concerning the success of the imposition laid upon the city, though it was imposed by an act of common council, it hath been denied by the generality, so none have paid except some two or three in a parish; and this denial they still persist in, notwithstanding they have been threatened by the mayor and aldermen with imprisonment and distraining their goods. Some constables, for refusing to distrain, have kissed the counter; and some have taken up their lodgings in Newgate, but have been since released. Others have made distress in divers places, but for the most part they took nothing but old ends, such as nobody much cared for: and where they took better commodities, yet they could get no customers to give money for them." Letter to Mead, Oct. 13, 1626, *Court and Times*, I, 157.

value of merchants' wares. The lord mayor thereupon appointed appraisers to accompany the churchwardens, collectors of the poor levy, and constables on their journeys over the parish to get in the ship money. The appraisers, however, were not responsible officers whose duties were carefully defined in the laws and customs of London, and they could not be brought to book for disobedience in the same way as could the other officials. They refused to appraise, whereupon the constables, collectors of poor relief, and churchwardens "excused themselves." The lord mayor put an end to such evasion of responsibility by ordering the constables to seize goods of any value and to bring them to the keeper of the Guildhall, who would see that they were properly appraised and sold.<sup>36</sup>

In May, 1627, shortly after the election of new churchwardens and collectors of the poor levy, the aldermen were charged to call before them the parish officials concerned, both those who had held office the previous year and those recently chosen, and to "take an exact account of every of them" of how much each had collected and what goods had been seized for nonpayment of the ship money.<sup>37</sup>

Since only about twenty-eight per cent of the £18,000 was brought in during the eighteen months following the assessment, the Court of Aldermen could deal with only a few of the individual citizens who refused to pay the tax. Those brought before the aldermen were men whose attitudes and actions were particularly violent or contentious. Three inhabitants of the parish of St. Alphege were imprisoned in October, 1626, "for resisting the constable offering to distrain for the [ship] monies, and for their obstinate refusal before this Court to conform themselves."<sup>38</sup> Another, Robert Snow, was committed the same day for resisting the constable and for nonappearance before the Court of Aldermen after being warned several times to appear.<sup>39</sup> William Angel, of the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft, was sent to Newgate because he "denied to pay the [ship] money, nor would suffer any distress to be taken for it, but in scoffing manner bid them tell my Lord Mayor that he would not pay, and bid them do what they durst." His conduct gave "ill examples to others in the like kind, to the hindrance and much discouragement of the said business."<sup>40</sup> William Acton, of St. Peter's, Eastcheap, was ordered to Newgate, but his sentence was suspended upon the intercession

<sup>36</sup> Repertory, XLI, fol. 107; Journal, XXXIV, fol. 64b.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 91b.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, XL, fol. 407b. "At London, they say, when the officers came to strain for the tax lately imposed, the people rescued one another." Mead to Stuteville, Sept. 30, 1626, *Court and Times*, I, 153.

<sup>39</sup> Repertory, XL, fol. 410b.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, XLI, fol. 83b.

of his friends and his promise to pay, the aldermen "wishing rather his conformity than otherwise." He had been asked several times for the tax, but had refused. The constable had expressed to Acton the hope that "he would not be offended with him if he did his duty in distraining for his nonpayment of his monies and that he would suffer him quietly to go up his stairs to distrain; the said Mr. Acton [had] answered, 'I conceive it is your office only to keep the peace, but you may distrain if you will, and I would fain see that man that durst come up my stairs without my leave; . . . I have a hatch to my door and I hope to prevent you.'"<sup>41</sup> Another was imprisoned for locking his door and refusing to allow the constable to distrain.<sup>42</sup> A resident of the parish of St. Dunstan in the West, Parkins by name, was sent to Newgate after telling the Court of Aldermen: "It is an unusual manner to pay money in this kind but by way of Parliament, and I know not what this may come unto, for by this course you may as well fetch from me £100 or my whole estate."<sup>43</sup>

In November, 1627, John Raney, treasurer for the City's setting out the twenty ships, was ordered to bring in his accounts to be audited. The auditing committee reported that of the £17,191 received by the treasurer only £5,070 had come in from the parishes; £11,000 was still owing to the chamber of London, £2,000 of the £13,000 which had been advanced by the chamberlain having been paid back.<sup>44</sup> As already noted, the final reckoning showed that the chamber was out of pocket £9,334.

The government of London was not to hear the last of the levy when it had reckoned up the treasurer's accounts. In January, 1629, Nicholas Clegate, vintner, brought suit against the lord mayor and the keeper of Newgate, to which prison he had been ordered for nonpayment of the ship money. The officials were defended by the City solicitor and the costs borne by the chamber.<sup>45</sup> Finally, seven years almost to the day after London agreed to furnish the twenty sail, the keeper of the Guildhall was ordered to sell all goods seized by distress back in 1626 and 1627, which had lain deposited in the Guildhall since their confiscation, and to return any "overplus" to the owners.<sup>46</sup>

The fleet for which the tax was levied was got ready very slowly. The ships to be pressed for the service were selected on September 11, one week

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 91-91b.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 112.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, XL, fols. 393-93b.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, XLII, fols. 21b-22, 142-42b.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, XLIII, fol. 74.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, XLVII, fol. 339. The constables had attempted, half-heartedly it was charged, to sell the goods but could find no customers. Letter to Mead, Oct. 13, 1626, *Court and Times*, I, 157.

after the scheduled meeting at Portsmouth.<sup>47</sup> A few days later the masters of some of the vessels, biding their time in London, were asked when the expedition would sail. “About Michaelmas come twelvemonth,” was their jeering answer.<sup>48</sup>

Not until October 20 did the commissioners for the City ships go before the council with word that the twenty ships were ready.<sup>49</sup> They had been pressed for the service and had been put in condition, but were not yet equipped for a sea voyage. The lords urged that the fleet “with all diligence” be put “in equipage.” When all was in order the ships were to drop down to Gravesend, where their officers would be given directions for the fleet’s employment. Their pay in the king’s service and the three months for which they had been victualed would start when the vessels left Gravesend.<sup>50</sup> It was probably on October 26 that the City ships at last were pronounced ready for sea, for on that date Buckingham named to the London ships the captains whom the City had recommended.<sup>51</sup> There had been so much delay that many in London thought that the City fleet “will not leave the river this winter.”<sup>52</sup>

A fortnight after the ships’ officers had been appointed and the fleet had started for Gravesend, the Privy Council approached the City commissioners with the request that ten of the twenty ships be provisioned for an additional two or three months. The ten City ships were to sail, with two of the king’s ships and fifteen “Hollanders,” for the coast of Spain with letters of marque for any prizes they might seize. With amazing alacrity the Court of Common Council agreed to the request. If rich prizes could be seized on the Spanish coast, the money advanced out of the chamber to launch the twenty ships, which it seemed hardly likely could be collected from the taxpayers, might be recouped. The commissioners for the City ships were ordered to notify the Privy Council of the agreement to the proposal and to obtain the best terms possible for the employment of the ten ships. The Londoners asked to go forth alone, unaccompanied by either Hollanders or ships of the royal navy; they asked that all the prizes go to them alone and “that the King’s ships, nor men, may not have any part thereof”; and they sought to be freed from paying any duty or tenth to the king. These were impossible

<sup>47</sup> See the names of the ships, their masters and their tonnage in State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, XXXV, No. 63.

<sup>48</sup> Letter to Mead, Sept. 15, 1626, *Court and Times*, I, 148.

<sup>49</sup> They were declared by the City to be “now almost fitted and furnished” on October 11. *A. P. C. 1626*, p. 314.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 324.

<sup>51</sup> See two of the commissions in State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, XXXVIII, Nos. 58, 59.

<sup>52</sup> Salvetti’s Despatch, Oct. 23, 1626, n. s., *Skrine MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 89.



conditions and the Privy Council had no power to grant them. Buckingham made the citizens another proposition. Let the London ships be provisioned for six months, the king to have all prizes taken in the first three months and then his ships and the Hollanders to return and leave the Londoners alone to take what they might in the last three months. The Court of Common Council rejected the offer, and prayed the lords' "good acceptance of the City's provisions already made without any their further addition touching the same ships." The matter was dropped.<sup>53</sup>

The City fleet proved to be of little value to the king. Over a month after the vessels had left the London docks for Gravesend they were still in the Thames estuary. Captain Philpot of the *Globe* complained to the Admiralty that contrary winds had kept him in the river and that the fleet had not been able to leave Gravesend for Portsmouth.<sup>54</sup> Buckingham ordered the City ships to ply between the North Foreland and the Isle of Wight, seizing all Spanish and French vessels, and to be particularly watchful for six ships bought by France in the Low Countries and reported to be en route to France.<sup>55</sup> The duke's charge that the Londoners were staying too close to shore and were idling away their time brought from the City captains a detailed report of how the time had been passed in waiting for fair weather. As if realizing that the account did not sound convincing, the captains begged Buckingham to believe that when wind and weather were right they would set diligently about their work.<sup>56</sup> But the ships purchased in the Low Countries by the king of France slipped down the Channel unmolested, and new instructions were sent to Captain John Pennington, commanding the City fleet, to attack and sink the French vessels at Havre de Grace.<sup>57</sup> The Londoners, however, were not spoiling for a fight, nor were they equipped for it. Their interest lay in taking prizes, a more profitable and a less dangerous business.

Reports on the City fleet forwarded to the Admiralty showed why little could be expected of it. Pennington listed fifteen of the London ships with

<sup>53</sup> Journal, XXXIV, fols. 19b-21.

<sup>54</sup> Philpot and twelve other City captains to Marsh, Nov. 28, 1626, State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, XL, No. 35. The Tuscan resident wrote to his grand duke: "The armed ships provided by the City are still in the river, and the crews are consuming the provisions without useful employment of any kind." Salvetti's Despatch, Dec. 11, 1626, n. s., *Skrine MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 98.

<sup>55</sup> Buckingham to Captain Orme *et al.*, Dec. 6, 1626, State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, XLI, No. 30. Buckingham's opinion of the City ships is apparent in his warning that the men are not to be allowed ashore, "nor are you at any time to lie at anchor in any harbor when wind and weather will permit you to be stirring abroad at sea."

<sup>56</sup> Captain Cooke *et al.* to Nicholas, Dec. 19, 1626, State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, XLII, No. 43(1).

<sup>57</sup> The King to Buckingham, Dec. 22; Buckingham to Pennington, Dec. 24, 1626, *ibid.*, Nos. 67, 81; Gardiner, VI, 150-52.



him in late December, noting the number of men each was supposed to carry. He wrote the lord admiral:

But every ship wants a good part of their men, and the greatest part of those they have are poor things or skulkers, land men and boys who are able to do little service; likewise all the ships that are here except three or four are very mean things and such as are not fit for men-of-war, neither in respect of their going or force, by the report of the captains and masters that I have spoken with. . . . Besides the ships are much overrated in burthen, and those few ordnance they have for the most part very mean, as minions, falcons and falconets which are of little use for service. His Majesty and Your Grace have borne much abuse in the choice and preparing of this fleet, for it only makes a noise with the name of twenty ships, but I will undertake to beat them all with two ships of the King's. Moreover, they are wondrous poorly fitted with munition, as eight, ten, twelve and sixteen barrels of powder to a ship, which will be spent in a fight of two hours. This those captains and masters that I have spoken with all affirm, and further that they have order not to stay longer out than the three months, whereof there is a month to come; if they do they [the City] will neither allow them victuals, pay them wages or freight, and also that they had order that when their time was expired within fourteen days, to come in. Further, there is neither pilots nor masters in the fleet that know the French coast, but for that I have written to Sir John Hippisley, who hath promised to send me as many as he can this night. But neither the want of these pilots or the other defects shall keep me here one minute after I have weather to carry me from here, and I will strive as much as in me lies to keep them out till I have effected the business I am employed for.<sup>58</sup>

In mid-January, when only nine days of service remained for the London ships, Pennington seemed content that his troubles with them would soon end. He expressed wonder that so many poor ships had been found in the Thames and had only contempt for the men who had been pressed in the streets of London.<sup>59</sup>

As relations with France became more strained, Charles decided to keep the London ships in service for an additional two months at his own expense.<sup>60</sup> When the committee for the City ships got word of the action agreed upon at the board, it ordered one of the twenty ships, the *William and John*, back to London. When the crew heard of the order it refused to remain any longer aboard and the captain could not have stayed at sea no matter how strong his

<sup>58</sup> Pennington to Buckingham, Dec. 28, 1626, State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, XLII, No. 100. The Tuscan resident, who heard from his London friends a different side of the story than Pennington saw at first hand, wrote: "The vessels provided by the City are of excellent quality, well armed and provisioned for three months." Salvetti's Despatch, Nov. 6, 1626, n. s., *Skrine MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 91.

<sup>59</sup> Pennington to Buckingham, Jan. 14, 1626, State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, XLIX, No. 28 (*Cal. S. P. Dom. 1627–1628*, p. 18). Pennington's failure with the London fleet contrasts markedly with his successes in April and May following with a comparable fleet of king's ships and merchantmen.

<sup>60</sup> Privy Council meeting, Jan. 4, 1626, *A. P. C. 1627*, p. 4.

sense of duty. As it was feared that similar orders to the other City captains would bring the entire London contingent packing back to the river, Buckingham commanded the committee at Clothworkers' Hall not to recall any of the City ships for two more months.<sup>61</sup> It was later decided to release ten of the "most insufficient" of the London fleet, and to retain the other ten for an additional three months' service.<sup>62</sup>

News that any of the vessels was to be kept beyond its time was distasteful to the mariners, and mutiny broke out on several of the City ships.<sup>63</sup> Captain Burton suggested to Buckingham that the whole fleet should be kept in service for a year as punishment for the insolence of the mariners.<sup>64</sup> The mutinies convinced the Privy Council that the king's service could best be advanced by dismissing the City ships when their time was up. The lords decided to have done with the Londoners, and to shift the burden to the royal navy and merchants' vessels to be newly contracted for by the king.<sup>65</sup> The London fleet returned to port with fourteen small French vessels in tow and with a record behind it of mutinous and riotous service. The story of the expedition was colorfully told shortly after the fleet's return:

The city fleet is returned, which having parted company, sometimes by storms, sometimes by reason of the long, dark nights, put in, some into Plymouth, some into Portsmouth. The undoubted journal of this expedition is as followeth: from the bridge at London they went to Gravesend; from Gravesend into the Downs; from the Downs to the Black Ness, near to Boulogne; from Boulogne they sailed, and came to anchor at Newhaven; from Newhaven they next anchored before St. Malo's, where their victuals were drawn to a small pittance; and the sailors began to think of him [Buckingham?], yet with a reserved patience, till they should come into the straits of four or five days' allowance. Then fell there a difference betwixt the captains and sailors: the sailors would home; the captains would stay, purposing to put six or seven to the mast, which, as it was somewhat too short for the cold weather, so will not a sailor endure it, when he is near the coast. This quarrel grew

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>62</sup> Buckingham to Hawkrigge and to Pennington, Jan. 18, 1626, State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, L, Nos. 18(1), 19(1) (*Cal. S. P. Dom. 1627-1628*, pp. 23, 24). Eight of the twenty ships returned to port early, apparently for lack of provisions. Contarini to the Doge, Jan. 29, 1627, n. s., *Cal. S. P. Ven. 1626-1628*, p. 105.

<sup>63</sup> Captain Philpot of the *Globe* informed the Admiralty that within six hours of the time word got about that some of the ships were to be retained in service, so many deserted that he could not report the number left on board. *Cal. S. P. Dom. 1627-1628*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>64</sup> Burton to Nicholas, Jan. 17, 1626, *ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>65</sup> Privy Council meeting, Jan. 28, 1626, *A. P. C. 1627*, p. 37. Because the additional two months' service now agreed upon was to be at the king's charge and so would involve no outlay by the City, nothing of this appears in the City records. The Venetian ambassador was under the impression that the City was to bear the cost of maintaining the ships at sea beyond the three months. See his dispatches of Feb. 5, 12, 19, 1627, n. s., *Cal. S. P. Ven. 1626-1628*, pp. 113, 118, 125. In his reports of February 26 and March 5 he seems finally to have understood that the ships that later served under Pennington were directly contracted for by the king and not by the City of London. *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 136. Sharpe, too, is at error in implying that the City bore the cost of the later expedition. See his *London and the Kingdom*, II, 101-102.

to that height, that in one ship the sailors had gotten their captain half overboard; and had not the master and the mates interceded, the other half had followed. Captain Phillpot also had a fair warning amongst them, who, being gone to the council of war to consult how these mutineers should be punished, his men in the mean time watching his return, had cut one of the ropes by which the ladder hung upon the ship's side. But as the captain was coming on board again, it chanced his coxswain was very officious, and went first up the ladder, to hand up his captain, who had no sooner set his foot upon the first step, but the ladder came round, and the poor fellow dropped into the sea, and so was drowned in his captain's stead. When they were come to this pass, then was no longer striving, and so immediately they came home, bringing with them fourteen sail of small French ships, with some good merchandize, to make good our ships [seized] at Blaye and Bourdeaux. As soon as these old mutinous fellows were come into the harbour, the captains desired their hands for testimony that their victuals were all spent, and that they would not to sea till they should be revictualled. A sheet of paper being laid before them, they accordingly wrote their names and marks, but in a good round circular form, that so none might appear for a ringleader; but if any suffer, they will go to it, as themselves say, *one and all, one and all*.<sup>66</sup>

From beginning to end the service of the twenty ships had been bitterly opposed. The aldermen and the Court of Common Council had fought stubbornly to avoid it and in so doing had set before the average Londoner an example of disrespect for higher authority. Taxpayers had locked their doors against the collectors. Constables had refused to distrain for the ship money, even after being assured that they would be "saved harmless." The committee for setting the ships to sea had delayed as long as possible. The masters of the vessels, aided by contrary winds, had kept to the English shore, and half of the three months' service had been spent in idleness. The City had recalled its ships before the time was up. And finally the sailors of the fleet had mutinied and had tried to hurl their officers overboard. It was a service given grudgingly and fought at every step.

Attempts to collect ship money in London in 1626 and 1627 produced the first widespread opposition to Caroline government, an opposition that encouraged the rebellious faction in the House of Commons by assuring it of popular support. And the 1626 levy produced a pattern of resistance easily called to mind and applied again when, between 1634 and 1640, the crown once more sought to apportion the financial burden of defense by levying ship money.

#### *Montana State University*

<sup>66</sup> Letter to Mead, Jan. 26, 1626, *Court and Times*, I, 187–88. The Privy Council ordered the mutineers detained, examined, and punished. Privy Council meeting, Jan. 28, 1626, *A. P. C. 1627*, p. 37.

\* \* \* \* *Reviews of Books* \* \* \* \*

General History

BEST HOPE OF EARTH: A GRAMMAR OF DEMOCRACY. By *Leland Dewitt Baldwin*. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1948. Pp. 258. \$3.00.)

PATTERNS OF ANTI-DEMOCRATIC THOUGHT: AN ANALYSIS AND A CRITICISM, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE AMERICAN POLITICAL MIND IN RECENT TIMES. By *David Spitz*, Department of Political Science, Ohio State University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. xiii, 304. \$4.50.)

BOTH of these timely publications by political scientists announce as their object the attempt to define and strengthen democracy in the face of present attacks. Both define democracy in Third Force fashion and dissociate themselves from the totalitarianism of extreme Left or extreme Right. Mr. Baldwin, however, combats the threat from both directions. Mr. Spitz looks almost exclusively to the Right as the danger. It is true he makes room in his categories for the extreme Left (pp. 121, 225), but he leaves the room largely unpeopled.

Both books are of as much interest to the historian as to the political scientist because both approach their material to some extent historically. Mr. Baldwin, who was inspired to write because of the confusion of his fellow soldiers over the deeper issues of the war, devotes a good deal of space to the evolution of liberal democracy, particularly in the English-speaking countries. His *Best Hope of Earth* is frankly written for the general public not the scholar, and the general public may profit from its historical perspective as well as the reaffirmation of neglected principles and values.

*Patterns of Anti-Democratic Thought* is a far more serious and scholarly work, though the inspiration for it may likewise have come from the author's wartime service. Its value is, perhaps unintentionally, greater as history of political thought than as reaffirmation of democratic belief. The almost exclusive emphasis Mr. Spitz chooses to lay on the Right, at a time when the greatest confusion in men's minds, or certainly in the minds of the intellectuals, lies in deciding the issues between communism and democracy, entails the flogging of many a dead horse. Certainly we are never free from the threat from the extreme Right and timely examples could well have been marshaled to show this. But if one judges the work purely as a tract for the times, men like Ralph Adams Cram, Madison Grant, E. M. Sait, George Santayana, John Burgess, and Irving Babbitt scarcely seem an imminent danger, nor their ideas either. Nordicism and Puritanism are hardly à la mode. Moreover it is debatable whether many of these critics ever exercised any great influence on American thinking. But if one regards the book as a serious

though restricted attempt to analyze certain past and present arguments against democracy, it does have real historical value. The historian will find much history interrelated with political science, economics, and philosophy in the far-ranging, logical, and sharply analytical manner of R. M. MacIver and Morris Cohen, to whom Mr. Spitz acknowledges his indebtedness. Like them he opposes the mechanistic and monistic theories of historical causation of the would-be scientific and realistic school, which maintains as a historical law that power always has and always must reside in the hands of the few. This may be the economic determinism of James Burnham's organizational necessity (*The Managerial Revolution*), or the psychological determinism of the drive for power imputed to every ruling class by Lawrence Dennis, Pareto, and Marx in part. As most of these critics of democracy argue from history, so its defender demolishes these arguments by his command of historical knowledge and of historiographical theory. He is on the side of freedom rather than historical necessity, for the multi-causal and pluralistic rather than monistic theories of causation and nature of the state, for the role of men and ideas as well as circumstances and impersonal forces. His evaluation of the role of economic factors in history is particularly judicious and penetrating.

*Vassar College*

EVALYN A. CLARK

LIBERALISM AND THE CHALLENGE OF FASCISM: SOCIAL FORCES IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE (1815-1870). By *J. Salwyn Schapiro*. [McGraw-Hill Series in History.] (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1949. Pp. xi, 421. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Schapiro's design in this work was (1) to reveal briefly the pre-nineteenth century bases of liberalism, of constitutionalism, and of democracy; (2) to examine in detail the development of liberal ideas, attitudes, and institutions in the first half of the nineteenth century; (3) to make clear the fact, the nature, the causes of differences in the French and English developments; and (4) to show how the essential ideas and practices, later to be developed, unified, and enforced under the generic name of fascism, emerged as a sinister growth from, and challenge to, liberal society and philosophy. The work fulfills, indeed, half the promise of the subtitle; it contains a well-developed account of the interplay of social forces in both countries up to 1848. It fails in the basic purpose indicated in the main title; revelation of the relationship of fascist ideology to liberalism; the reasons why, and the way in which, the former emerged from the matrix of a liberal social order.

In the first part of the work, concerned with the developing patterns of bourgeois society, of middle-class economics and politics, this defect does not prove disastrous, while the two opening chapters of the second, devoted exclusively to democratic liberal philosophers, to John Stuart Mill and to Alexis de Tocqueville, are

fair, informed, and scholarly estimates. Up to that point Professor Schapiro evaluates carefully as historian, and without historicism.

But, so vital to the main thesis, the three chapters on "Heralds of Fascism," namely, Louis Napoleon, Proudhon, and Carlyle, are quite unsatisfactory. Initially their inadequacy is due, I think, to two things. First, when Professor Schapiro discovers ideas, practices, or attitudes in the thought, activities, or prejudices of these people which were shared and developed to extremes by modern fascists, he forthwith proclaims the former heralds, which is precisely the fallacy known as historicism. Secondly, he does not fully assess the relationship of these persons to their own times and their problems, and, worst of all, he does not note clearly which changed ideas or social circumstances differentiate their work from earlier tyranny or from defense of aristocratic government, nor establish criteria for such differentiation. That Louis Napoleon developed some practices, Proudhon and Carlyle some ideas usable or even used by Mussolini or Hitler is clear. What is not clear is the sense in which they heralded fascism, how far it was a necessary or predictable development of their work. In short, the problem of social or ideological causation is barely tackled, not at all solved.

One may consider symptomatic Schapiro's treatment of Proudhon, of whom he makes a conscious reassessment. Schapiro argues that Proudhon was a "harbinger of fascist ideas" (p. 365), a conformist with nothing to which to conform (*ibid.*), and that he can be understood "only in the light of present discontents." He was indeed, as Schapiro insists, confusing and puzzling to his contemporaries. He remains so today; and the present author's attempt to eliminate his inner contradictions does not succeed in reducing him to a coherent system. Rather, Schapiro's sometimes perceptive insights add another element to the many-faceted pattern of Proudhon's thought, and constitute a proper corrective to past interpretations, which have too neatly, yet not without inner contradiction, depicted that tortured and explosive thinker of feeling as an individualistic socialistic anarchist. Proudhon is, clearly, the sentient critic of a host of evils of his times, perceptive, indignant, and frustrated; and his positive recommendations, not less than his rebellious assertions of the need to break the chains of confining institutions that the self may breathe and function, are alike reactions against subjugating disciplines, uncreative organization, and unrewarding order. Indeed, "Proudhon, like Rousseau, was an inharmonious genius" (p. 333), but, again like Rousseau, the dissonances were not initially of his making. Nor can they properly be turned into harmony by or for our own most dissonant age, nor reduced to the sophisticated barbarism of its most monotonously repetitive theme.

If Proudhon may be rendered coherent at all, it is on the basis of the sources, quoted by Schapiro, which he held most formative in his thought: "the Bible first of all, then Adam Smith, and finally Hegel." With sympathetic construction, these influences at least render him intelligible; and Schapiro shows a certain incomprehension when he characterizes them as "an odd assortment of masters for anyone,



especially for a French revolutionist" (p. 334). For the New Testament at least constitutes a revolution in ethics, stresses the sanctity of personality yet urges the need for spiritual fellowship, and, from that, recognition of mutuality and interdependence; Smith, no revolutionary, yet engendered a revolt to free human energies for the service of human welfare; while Hegel, apostle of the new trinity of will, reason, freedom, aimed precisely at a reintegration of individual and social community, at a new and perfect harmony, whatever the defectiveness of his specific solution. To hope to synthesize these insights was no doubt overly ambitious, and Proudhon failed. But the objective was surely sound, and revealed an extraordinarily clear vision of the central problem of early industrial society, a problem still imperfectly solved in its maturity. That in his attempt to solve it Proudhon, fallible and imperfectly prophetic, hit on some dangerous concepts subsequently to be perverted or overemphasized by fascists, does not to me seem strange or sinister. Certainly it does not justify an interpretation of him as a pre-fascist thinker whose spiritual home was yet unbuilt.

Finally, I wish to comment briefly on Professor Schapiro's conclusion, entitled "The Historic Importance of Bourgeois Liberalism." That chapter is in some ways comparable to the obituary notice of some venerated and distinguished civic leader of noble character and signal forcefulness and energy, who in his day made a great contribution to his city, did not keep up with the times as years came to weigh heavily on him, yet bequeathed to subsequent generations a splendid and lasting heritage, whose contents are not precisely specified, and are perhaps beyond specification. Liberalism, we are correctly told, created the liberal state. "It was the liberal state that succeeded in reconciling government with liberty" (p. 398), where the two had once been held enemies. Later, that state acted for a while as mediator in class conflicts. Making number the basis of power, it robbed government of mystery and awe. Yet, by means of property qualifications it preserved for a time class rule, ultimately challenged on its own proper principle. It failed, however, adequately to cope with, or to reconcile itself to the need for, the positive state, because of its dogma of the separation of political and economic spheres. But its principle of political equality was bound in due course to be transferred by others to economic fields. Hence, though liberalism is still regarded as marred by a bourgeois taint, despite the long lost importance of that type of liberalism in England and France, it has by indirection shaped even the newer world now past childhood, and in the recent struggle against fascism provided moral sinew for resistance. "The prime object of this book," Professor Schapiro states in his parting sentence, "has been to emphasize the great and lasting value that bourgeois liberalism gave to democracy and to 'its way of life.'"

No doubt it did; but a work which ends its analysis with 1870 precisely cannot demonstrate that conclusion. Its conclusions, moreover, are theses needing further demonstration. I, at least, am not convinced that bourgeois liberalism is quite dead even in France and England; I am very uncertain how far a new and more ade-



quate liberalism has emerged, or in what ways or to what extent the vital principles of generic liberalism survive and have vitality. Nor has Professor Schapiro made clear whether fascist thought is basically a reaction against, or a sinister offshoot from, liberalism. Finally, I am far from assured that, even in England and France, the liberal heritage and spirit alone is sufficiently dynamic lastingly to combat, on its own premises, latent fascist threats, or patent, and presently more powerful, enemies of its ethos. But those problems, while implicit in Professor Schapiro's purpose, rest beyond his set scope.

*Johns Hopkins University*

THOMAS I. COOK

ESSAYS IN HISTORY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN HONOR OF GEORGE HUBBARD BLAKESLEE. Edited by *Dwight E. Lee* and *George E. McReynolds*. (Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Publications. 1949. Pp. xi, 324. Cloth \$6.00, paper \$4.50.)

THE lasting impression the teacher makes upon his students comes not from the facts he imparts but from his intellectual manner and integrity, his scholarly methods and his personality. The facts he commands in his active career become antedated, but his ways of handling them pass along a technique to his students. The beneficiaries of such training and contact with the professor of history and international relations for forty-five years at Clark University undertake in this spontaneous volume to demonstrate the quality of his discipline.

All but three of the fifteen selected contributors to this volume are teachers, five ranking as professors. All but one have produced papers which competently marshal facts on topics on which the writers are specially interested. The exception is a "think piece" by Samuel Flagg Bemis entitled "The Shifting Strategy of American Defense and Diplomacy," which ventures that, despite the Marshall Plan, a "last line of defense in North America" will eventually be drawn in the resolution of the United States to restore health in Europe to defend the consciousness of liberty. The essays as a whole reflect all of Blakeslee's wide and varied interests except Latin America and his concern with public opinion.

Seven of these essays touch upon matters of current significance. Russell H. Fifield surveys the rise of "The United States—Paramount Power of the Pacific" with emphasis on the responsibility which is entailed thereby. Leften S. Stavrianos makes an excellent exposition in "The United States and Greece: The Truman Doctrine in Historical Perspective." The evolution of "Canada's Department of External Affairs" by Hugh L. Keenleyside, who has seen its development from the inside, and Eugene H. Miller's "Canada, the United States and Latin America," dealing with the Pan-American relation, discuss two matters Americans need to understand. In "Sovereignty and Imperialism in the Polar Regions" Elmer Plischke points out the problems of jurisdiction and the bad going encountered to date by the sector principle. J. P. Shalloo's "United States Immigration Policy, 1882-1948"

brings that policy smack up against the dilemma of being decent toward displaced persons. "The Two Paris Peace Conferences of the Twentieth Century," in 1919 and 1946, are compared and contrasted by F. Lee Bennis, with the balance in favor of the 1919 gatherings which lacked the great-state suspicions of 1946.

Another seven essays are monographs on historical questions. Forrest C. Pogue's intimate record of "The Supreme Allied Command in Northern Europe, 1944-1945" enhances the reputation of General Eisenhower. The "Influence of Pro-Fascist Propaganda on American Neutrality, 1935-1936" by John Norman is a straight look at pressure-group techniques. The American side of "The Nonapplication of Sanctions against Japan, 1931-1932" is set forth by Ernest Ralph Perkins in the hope that Ernest L. Woodward will do the British side in the forthcoming *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*. The circumstances around the conclusion of the Root-Takahira agreement are enlighteningly brought together in Jessie Ashworth Miller's "The United States and Chinese Territorial Integrity, 1908." Nelson M. Blake recounts the ups and downs of a near alliance in "England and the United States, 1897-1899." A fresh perspective on a controversial phase of our history is vouched by Edwin B. Coddington in "The Civil War Blockade Reconsidered." And in "The Fall of Protection in Britain" (1842) Albert H. Imlah contributes something more than a new note to economic political history.

Each of these essays merits scrutiny by anyone concerned with the fields they touch.

Washington, D. C.

DENYS P. MYERS

THE STORY OF MAPS. By Lloyd A. Brown. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1949. Pp. xix, 397. \$7.50.)

*The Story of Maps* by Lloyd A. Brown is good history. If "history is geography in motion," then "the story of maps: the men who made them and the methods they employed, what can be found on them and the devious ways by which the information required for their compilation was obtained" is an important contribution to the history of mankind. As the author says in his introduction, "There is no other such chronicle in print."

In the first three chapters the author provides a very readable, unhurried account of the development of geographic knowledge and concepts of the ancient Greeks—and, briefly, of the earlier Babylonians. Their instrumentation was meager but their cerebration extraordinary. Aristarchus of Samos (ca. 310-230 B.C.)—to whom Copernicus admitted it should be attributed—put forward the heliocentric hypothesis. Knowledge of the shape and size of the earth, of climates, of parallels and meridians and projections for map construction, have come down chiefly through Strabo (ca. 63 B.C.-21 A.D.) and Claudius Ptolemy (flourished 150 A.D.). The stimulus given to Columbus by Poseidonius' unfortunate underestimate of the

earth's circumference (18,000 miles, compared with Eratosthenes' earlier 25,000 miles) and Ptolemy's overestimate of the east-west extent of Eurasia, leaving a gap of only 2,500 miles of ocean west of Europe, is well revealed.

The map and chart trade as it developed with the advent of movable type in European printing, the publication of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, and the discovery of the New World, within a few decades reached its zenith in quality in the fine copperplate engraving and the hand coloring of the Ortelius, Hondius, and Blaeu atlases. The recipes for making the best map colors used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may be unimportant to a historian, but they are interesting reading. Mercator's great contributions are well narrated, and his map of 1538 in two cordiform hemispheres, on which both North and South America are named for the first time, is artistically reproduced (pp. 158-59).

Owing to the sphericity of the earth and its daily rotation, man has always had to ascertain his location on the earth by observing the heavenly bodies. The utter dependence of cartography upon astronomy, and the improvements in both through the centuries, are disclosed in two valuable chapters on latitude and longitude. (Only recently has it become possible by means of electronics, wherever the expensive apparatus and the special charts are available, to determine location at sea accurately at all times without astronomic observations.) Cassini's tables of the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites for the year 1668 provided the first reliable means of determining time differences, and thus differences of longitude between any two places, except at sea, where the method was not practicable. Handsome rewards for solving the longitude problem were offered by Spain, the Netherlands, France, and Great Britain. Inevitably the story is told of John Harrison and his invention of the marine chronometer that kept time with an error of less than two minutes during a five-months' voyage, and of his courageous struggle in collecting the last half of the £20,000 reward when he was nearly eighty years of age.

In the final chapters, "Survey of a Country" (national surveys) and "Survey of a World," the deplorable state of topographic mapping and the problems met in accurate mapping of the whole world—which is fundamental to any inventory of the earth's population and resources—are succinctly described. Study of the eighty-two illustrations (many of which are artistic reproductions) and their captions would constitute an excellent introduction to the book and reduce the reading time. There are thirty pages of notes, thirty-two pages of classified bibliography, and an excellent index.

*Chevy Chase, Maryland*

S. W. Boggs

SONS OF SCIENCE: THE STORY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION AND ITS LEADERS. By *Paul H. Oehser*. [The Life of Science Library.] (New York: Henry Schuman. 1949. Pp. xvii, 220. \$4.00.)

SCIENTISTS AND AMATEURS: A HISTORY OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

By *Dorothy Stimson*. [The Life of Science Library.] (New York: Henry Schuman. 1948. Pp. xiii, 270. \$4.00.)

In an age when most scientific research requires facilities beyond the private resources of the individual investigator and when abundant information concerning the research of other workers is essential to enable a man to make new discoveries, the history of institutions which further research and the exchange of information is of special interest.

In the United States, the Smithsonian Institution is one of the leaders, and its history, which Paul H. Oehser relates, is most unusual, for it is the story of a semi-private, semigovernmental institution founded by an Englishman who had never been to America but nevertheless bequeathed his fortune to the United States "for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men."

Mr. Oehser uses the device of biographical sketches to present his institutional history. Starting with the founder, he continues with an account of the contributions of John Quincy Adams in persuading Congress to accept the gift and in planning a suitable organization to accomplish Smithson's wishes. Then come the lives of the successive heads of the institution, and their general contributions, such as pioneer sponsorship of meteorology and American anthropology.

The fastidious scholar may not always enjoy the style the author employs to make his book interesting to a broad group of readers, and he may disagree on certain details such as the statement, intended to prove Smithson's high scientific standing, that his election as Fellow of the Royal Society at the end of the eighteenth century "was indeed a distinction, conferred only on recognized merit of the highest order." (Sir Henry Lyons tells us that in this period, "Nothing had been done to remedy the predominance of non-scientific Fellows in the Society.") Nevertheless the book is a useful introduction to the subject, and the full bibliography will direct the scholar to the essential source material.

Miss Stimson, with her happy choice of title, *Scientists and Amateurs*, indicates one of the major themes in the history of the world's premier scientific society, the Royal Society of London, that is, the slow growth of specialization and professionalism which makes it so much more difficult for the layman to understand the science of today than that of the seventeenth century. During the Restoration, when the society was chartered, the distinction between the amateur scientist and the professional was unimportant; wealthy gentlemen like Robert Boyle might make most valuable scientific contributions, and it was not incongruous for Samuel Pepys, the secretary of the Admiralty, to be president of the Royal Society and to give the imprimatur for Newton's *Principia*.

The author appropriately devotes much attention to the intellectual atmosphere of seventeenth century England as a background to the early history of the society and shows how the utilitarian and the curious aspects of science could interest even men as worldly as Charles II.

A century after Newton's death, professional specialization in science had increased to the point where the gentleman amateur could contribute little to the society, and the society was stagnating under the club-like traditions continued from the seventeenth century. The author traces the election reforms which restricted fellowship to active scientists. On new, wholly professional foundations the society has continued to grow in leadership. Its *Transactions* are almost an epitome of the history of modern science itself, and the author rightly makes no attempt to appraise the vast specialized recent scientific work of the society, but concludes with an account of the different kinds of activities it now sponsors.

The book is as enjoyably readable as it is scholarly and, as the first general history of the Royal Society published in over a century, is especially welcome.

*University of Wisconsin*

ROBERT C. STAUFFER

SOUTH AFRICA UNDER JOHN III, 1520-1557. By *Sidney R. Welch*. (Cape Town: Juta and Company. 1949. Pp. 586. 50s.)

SOUTH Africa was never so integral a part of the Portuguese Empire as was Brazil or Goa, but the Portuguese were active there too and left a record of their passage, in history, in place names (such as Natal), and in the Afrikaans language. It is not to be wondered, therefore, that South Africans should be interested, as lately they have been interested, in the Portuguese origins of their country, and that they should now begin to study what occurred in their homeland between the time of the voyage of Vasco da Gama and the arrival of the Dutch in Cape Town in 1652. This period of South African history has been particularly studied by two young scholars from the Union, Eric Axelson and Mabel Jackson, both of whom have worked in the Portuguese archives and both of whom have since published the fruits of their Lisbon harvests, and also by Dr. Welch. Dr. Welch, I believe, has not done research in Portugal—certainly he does not show it in his present work—but he deserves to be ranked nonetheless with the historians of South Africa who are making fine contributions to our knowledge of a hitherto unknown part of the early Portuguese Empire.

Dr. Welch has submitted old facts to a fresh examination, and herein lies his peculiar contribution. This has not been so easy to do as one might suppose because the bibliography is enormous and because old facts, in the case of South Africa, must be ferreted out. The result of his effort has been something more than a history of the present area of the Union of South Africa during the reign of King John III of Portugal. He has also given us information on the Portuguese in Abyssinia, in Mozambique, and elsewhere along the coast from the Cape of Good Hope to the Red Sea. Moreover, since this part of Africa was dependent administratively on the colonial headquarters at Goa, he must and does place his subject in its imperial perspective. Scarcely any phase of Portugal's overseas expansion during the period under discussion is left out; and the picture Dr. Welch draws will

show how it was possible to consolidate an empire that in its day had no rival.

The Portuguese have not been the victims of a black legend, as have the Spaniards, but they have still been shabbily treated by hasty and ignorant writers. Dr. Welch has, I think, succeeded in putting things in their right place, so that the Portuguese of the time of King John again appear to the reader as they must have appeared to their contemporaries, people of human virtues and vices who were successful as carriers of Christianity and European civilization. The author does not have the literary accomplishments of Salvador de Madariaga, but he too is an expert debunker and perhaps the more complete historian. There can be no doubt, at any rate, that Dr. Welch admires the Portuguese pioneers, and his book will serve to place their activities once more in their proper focus.

He warns us, in the words of Sir Thomas Browne, against thinking that "vices in one age are not vices in another, or that virtues, which are under the everlasting seal of right reason, may be stamped [*i.e.*, coined] by [public] opinion." Since he believes this to be true, he has not hesitated to make occasional comparisons, including a few unhappy ones, "between events as well as persons of King John's reign and those of modern times." "It has been forced upon me," he adds, "by reading the numerous works in English and French which deal with this period. So many writers have engaged in the task of pointing out how far superior later centuries are to that of John III, that it has become a litany of depreciation."

Dr. Welch has no love for the secular state, for free trade, for Adam Smith (whom he calls the Machiavelli of modern economics), for doctrinaire liberalism, for democracy when it is not Christian, or for capitalism, as he has for the Portugal of John III, where these influences, as we know them today, were not felt. Nor has he any patience with the historians of the type that reflect in historical writing what Kipling reflects in poetry. He is more at home with the early historians of the Portuguese Empire, who were, he says, and rightly, "untainted with . . . [the] idea of a manifest destiny of their own nation based on its unique virtues. They saw only unique opportunities."

His book, in other words, is a history of the kind that a positivistic historian would not quite approve, but then such a historian would not have been able to understand what John tried to do. Students of Brazilian colonial history, among others, will read the book with great profit to themselves. It will give them an excellent over-all view of an empire to which Brazil belonged at a time when the colonization of Portuguese America began on a systematic basis.

There are copious footnotes and a list of sources.

*Catholic University of America*

MANOEL CARDOZO

THE GOLD COAST: A SURVEY OF THE GOLD COAST AND BRITISH TOGOLAND, 1919-1946. By *F. M. Bourret*. [The Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace, Publication No. 23.] (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 231. \$4.00.)

THIS survey of Gold Coast developments during the important transition period since 1919 is a valuable contribution. Working from documents in the Hoover Library at Stanford University, Dr. Bourret has shown what an American historian can achieve in the increasingly significant field of recent African history. Her success should stimulate investigations in the documentation now available on other African territories.

The book is a timely case study of the problems confronting one of Africa's richest and most advanced colonies as it moves toward self-government. Two introductory chapters on the land and the people, and Gold Coast history from the days of the Portuguese navigators to the end of World War I, are followed by two chapters which survey the period from 1919 to 1927, emphasizing the constructive work of the Gold Coast's outstanding governor, Sir Gordon Guggisberg. The next three chapters are devoted to problems of the territory's four main divisions, the Gold Coast Colony, Ashanti, the Northern Territories, and British Togoland. Economic and social progress since 1919 are discussed in a separate chapter, and the book concludes with two chapters on developments during and after World War II.

The author does not present new evidence or attempt to reinterpret older accounts. Her contribution lies in the presentation of a clear factual summary and a well-balanced judgment of complicated problems. Recognizing that the Gold Coast is still economically backward and has many social needs, Dr. Bourret nonetheless concludes that the territory's "encouraging progress" makes abundantly clear "the value of co-operation between indigenous peoples and a metropolitan power" (p. 203). Although she believes that Britain's economic support of the territory "has sometimes been insufficient or unwisely directed" (p. 148), she is convinced by a comparison of the Gold Coast with independent but less advanced states such as Liberia and Ethiopia that the British have made a great contribution. However, Dr. Bourret has not analyzed with the same thoroughness the contribution the Gold Coast has made to the British.

Perhaps the least satisfactory part of the book is chapter VII on the Northern Territories and the trust territory of British Togoland. The author's analysis of the trust territory suffers from her decision to deal with these two areas together. Several inaccuracies on minor details mar the discussion of British Togoland in the United Nations trusteeship system (pp. 117-21). Moreover, the picture of progress in the Northern Territories is too optimistic, a fact resulting from the author's necessity of relying heavily on British official reports.

*Washington, D. C.*

VERNON MCKAY



## Ancient and Medieval History

SLAVERY IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SLAVERY IN BABYLONIA, ASSYRIA, SYRIA, AND PALESTINE FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE THIRD MILLENNIUM TO THE END OF THE FIRST MILLENNIUM. By *Isaac Mendelsohn*, Lecturer in Semitic Languages and Curator of Near East Collections, Columbia University. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. vii, 162. \$3.75.)

In this monograph Dr. Mendelsohn has given all students of the Ancient Near East an indispensable guide to the institution of slavery. The author is a competent cuneiformist and Hebraist, an excellent bibliographer, and a careful student of ancient social and legal practices. In preparing the rich cuneiform material for publication he has had the extremely valuable assistance of Dr. A. L. Oppenheim, now of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. One of the most striking things about the book is the good judgment everywhere shown by its author, whether in assessing the value of often fragmentary sources, in comparing Mesopotamian and Israelite laws and practices, or in estimating the social role and significance of slavery in different countries and periods.

Some readers may be disappointed to find Egypt omitted, but the author was wise in limiting himself to southwestern Asia, which is a relatively homogeneous area of culture, where the author is at home. Since his work went to press important new data have become available, particularly A. Goetze's publication of the laws of Eshnunna, a Babylonian city which flourished in the first centuries of the second millennium B.C. These laws precede Hammurabi by well over a century and provide rich new material for our knowledge of the institution of slavery.

Naturally there are many minor points where the reviewer will disagree or will wish to add material. For lack of space we shall limit ourselves to a very few items: On pages 25 f. the author renders the Accadian word *anaḫū* as "lead," whereas it is now certain from metallurgical investigations that this word means as a rule "tin," while *abarū* means "lead," thus eliminating the strange idea that lead was employed as the standard of exchange in Asia Minor and neighboring lands in the early second millennium B.C. Actually it was the far more useful tin which replaced silver at that time for this purpose. On page 57 (and p. 143, n. 129) Accadian *mar bitī* is treated as though it meant "slave." It is now known that both this term and the equivalent Aramaic *bar baita*, "son of the house," mean "noble," not "slave." In his note Mendelsohn nearly recognized this point (discovered by E. Mittwoch and B. Meissner, as a result of the former's work on the leather rolls belonging to the Arsames correspondence). The interesting discussion of the slave's *peculium* (personal possessions) on pages 74 ff. (and corresponding passages elsewhere in the book) does not always reckon with the fact that words for "slave" and "maid-servant" (Accad. *wardum*, Hebrew *'ebed*; *amtum* and *amah*) were employed all over southwestern Asia in the double meaning of "official of the king

or a noble" and "slave." When *amah*, "female servant," is used on two recently published Ammonite seals of about the seventh century B.C., it means "female official of the king," not "maid-servant." A royal official might be a man of great wealth and yet be legally a slave of the king. A similar situation arises with regard to the Hebrew term *na'ar*, which means both "boy" and "steward." The discussion of the status of Ziba on page 74 would gain considerably from a comparison of the material gathered by the reviewer in his analysis of the Eliakim seals (*Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, LI [1932], 77-84).

In conclusion I wish to express my hearty thanks to the author for an exceedingly worth-while contribution.

Johns Hopkins University

W. F. ALBRIGHT

VESPASIEN, L'EMPEREUR DU BON SENS (69-79 ap. J.-C.). By *Léon Homo*. (Paris: Albin Michel. 1949. Pp. 400. 570 fr.)

NEW factual information about as famous a person as the emperor Vespasian is almost impossible to secure; but reinterpretation of his career is always possible, and in this M. Homo has done an excellent piece of work.

The book is divided into six parts: "The Rise to Power," "The Conquest of the Empire," "The Man and the Program," "The Liquidation of Disorder," "National Reorganization," and "The Resurrection of Rome." These in turn are subdivided into a total of nineteen chapters. Of necessity the author draws the facts of his narrative and the material for his character sketch of Vespasian almost exclusively from Tacitus, Josephus, Cassius Dio, Suetonius, and the elder Pliny. Tacitus provides the stories of the Civil War of 68-69 A.D. and the Batavian revolt; Josephus is reproduced almost literally in the description of the Jewish war, and Suetonius' character sketch of Vespasian suffers little or no change at M. Homo's hands. For his adequate and lucid discussions of government, society, and general culture, the author uses not only Pliny's *Natural History* but also significant Latin inscriptions, papyri, numismatic evidence, laws, and archaeological material. Yet even here he has added little to the factual data already available to the student of Roman history. This is inevitable, and it is to the author's credit that he repeats the well-known story clearly and completely.

His interpretation of Vespasian's career, however, while not startlingly original or provocative, makes the book both stimulating and useful. To him, Vespasian's every act was dominated by common sense; and his reign is treated as an example of what plain, earthy common sense, unadorned by grandiloquent rhetoric or utopian schemes, can do to restore prosperity and sanity to a suffering world. No parallels are drawn with modern times, but one cannot help wondering what such a man might do, if reincarnated, to liquidate the present cosmic mess.

To M. Homo, Vespasian was the second founder of the principate. Augustus, its first founder, had like Vespasian been a man of magnificent common sense;

and his work had reflected this trait. But the later Julio-Claudian emperors (notably Nero) had undermined the Augustan principate by introducing into it features borrowed from Oriental despotism. Vespasian restored the Augustan system but in so doing modernized, improved, and strengthened it. Common sense in government finance, in the relations of emperor and senate, in provincial government, in the treatment of the army, and in foreign affairs—everywhere its magic touch brought order out of chaos and prosperity in place of misery. The creative powers of the Roman people were stimulated, and the Roman world blossomed anew. The Roman Empire continued to feel his beneficent influence for two centuries after his death. Between the tormented world of 69 A.D. and the prosperous world of 79 A.D. there was, to quote our author, “a single decisive fact. Vespasian, the common-sense emperor, had passed that way” (p. 391).

Footnotes are few and confined principally to citations of literary sources. This reviewer wonders at the complete absence of B. W. Henderson’s works from the bibliography as well as from the discussion. There are sixteen illustrations (fairly well chosen) but no maps. There is no index.

*Ohio Wesleyan University*

C. E. VAN SICKLE

## Modern European History

LA MÉDITERRANÉE ET LE MONDE MÉDITERRANÉEN À L'ÉPOQUE DE PHILIPPE II. By *Fernand Braudel*, Directeur d'Études à l'École pratique des Hautes Études. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1949. Pp. xv, 1160. 1,800 fr.)

EVERYTHING about this colossal monograph is immediately impressive: well over half a million words of text buttressed by thousands of footnotes crammed with references and the overflow of marginal comments; a report on manuscript sources studied in all of the major and some of the minor archives of France, Spain, and Italy, with Algiers and Ragusa thrown in for good measure; a formidable critical biography which, nevertheless, omits scores of titles cited in the notes; and an objective and plan of attack worthy of these mass forces. The objective is a complete, dynamic description of a segment of space and time, of “the whole Mediterranean world” (very inclusively defined), as it must have been in the age of Philip II. The plan requires, first, a reconstruction of the “geohistory” (Braudel’s coinage) of the Mediterranean area about 1550, that is, its physical and human geography with its political and strategic implications; second, a “structural” history of the social groups within the area, their economies, societies, civilizations, and empires; and finally, a unifying survey of the “traditional” history, defined as the actions of individuals and the “surface movements” of political events. Braudel first undertook a conventional study of the Mediterranean policies of Philip II, so he tells us, in 1923. The present form of his book is the result of his

revolt against "traditional" history and his enthusiastic adherence to the "new history" (social and economic) now spreading from its center in France in "revolutionary" conquests throughout the intellectual world (pp. xii-xiv).

Even without the specific acknowledgments, the influence on this point of view of the work of Marc Bloch and of Lucien Lefebvre would be obvious, but Fernand Braudel is clearly no mere disciple. His is a bold and original enterprise, and its execution is marked by nothing so much as originality and boldness. It is marked also by a wide-ranging curiosity, a talent for apt and surprising comparisons, and an enthusiasm for intellectual inquiry as fervent as the rhetoric in which it is couched. Reinforced by such gifts, Braudel's methods yield, without forcing, results which are almost always interesting and often fresh, stimulating, and richly suggestive, particularly in the earlier part of his study. If the last six or seven hundred pages seem progressively less rewarding, this may be due in part to the literary hazards of the comparative method. To eschew narrative and pursue the topical development of a number of interdependent themes is to be constantly tempted into repetition, with incidental penalties. The first time one reads that the "Castilianization" of Spain under Philip II is proved by the fact that an Aragonese nobleman wrote a book in Castilian (p. 134) one is inclined to ignore the slip. But the third time one encounters the same generalization, supported by the same lonely bit of evidence (p. 328) one begins to ask: how about Gil Vicente and Juan Boscán, a Portuguese and a Catalan, writing in *lengua castellana* before Philip II was born? And what language would Braudel expect an Aragonese nobleman to write, at any time? In addition to the dangers of repetition, Braudel has to struggle as he goes on against the increasing familiarity of his material. The economic and social phenomena described in Part II sometimes fail to yield the fresh provocative generalizations sought. The chief one offered, as if it were revolutionary, that the Mediterranean was not a dead sea devoid of commerce and economic life after the Portuguese reached India, hardly seems worth so much insistence. Nobody today would disagree. Did anybody, ever?

Finally, one is compelled to admit that the third section, an over-all narrative of war and diplomacy in the Mediterranean, 1550-1600, is disappointing. Not merely because the account seems relatively perfunctory, and written without much enthusiasm, but chiefly because the massive and exciting *décor* built up in the first seven hundred-odd pages does little, after all, to enliven or illuminate the familiar drama. Braudel has sought, with energy and something like genius, "a fresh orchestration of events," but though his parallel development of individual themes has been fascinating and his counterpoint often brilliant, the final harmonic solution sounds flat. Perhaps that is not because of a radical defect of method but partly, at least, because one theme has received less than its proper value. The sea itself is slighted. Early in the first section Braudel remarks that the Mediterranean is so land-locked that Mahan's law of sea power does not apply; the Mediterranean is dominated by continental land power (pp. 190-91). (Just when in the 1940's was

this written, one wonders, and with how much recollection of 1797-1814?) Later he is content to describe the major stretches of the sea as "watery Saharas" rarely crossed except by the largest ships, and in all seafaring matters his documentation and his interest seem to flag. For instance, his misunderstanding of Lane's point about the cog and consequent assumption that what was introduced into the Mediterranean in 1303 was a "round" ship (pp. 107, 228, 308) could have been corrected by reference to C. de la Roncière's *Histoire de la marine française*, which is basic for sixteenth century naval history, or even to Jal; his repeated assertion that the captured *Revenge* was used as a model by Spanish shipbuilders (pp. 252, 546) shows not only that he combines a complete readiness to correct Julian Corbett's judgments with a surprising lack of familiarity with his narrative (the *Revenge* sank, of course, before her Spanish prize crew got her to port) but also that he has given something less than full attention to the writings of Fernandez Duro and of Artinaño y Galdácano, fundamental, both, for any study of Philip II's navy. A better understanding of ships and their uses might have modified a good many of Braudel's conclusions. But this review should not close on a note of disparagement. Whatever its faults, this is a brilliant, exciting, and profoundly stimulating book, a creditable labor of scholarship and historical imagination. Every student of sixteenth century history ought to read it; every lover of the art of history should welcome it.

Columbia University

GARRETT MATTINGLY

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION. By *Pierre Janelle*, Professor in Clermont University. [Science and Culture Series.] (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company. 1949. Pp. xiv, 397. \$4.50.)

THE tendency of the historians of the Reformation to forego the polemics of the first decades of our century and to devote their attention to the characteristic features of the various religious movements of the sixteenth century has led to many fruitful results. Joseph Husslein, S.J., the general editor of the "Science and Culture Series," of which Janelle's *The Catholic Reformation* is the most recent volume, emphasized in his introduction to Clayton's *Luther and His Work* (Milwaukee, 1937) the necessity for Protestants and Catholics "to understand each other and so to join ranks in a common defence of what is sacred to us all. This need not imply a compromise in faith" (p. xv).

It is in harmony with this spirit that Professor Pierre Janelle, head of the department of English at Clermont-Ferrand University in France, makes his scholarly analysis of the Catholic Reformation, much of it based upon original research. He devotes three chapters to "the anarchy and disease" in the church and the pre-Trentine attempts at reform. These failed, he points out, because of the defective organization of a secularized officialdom, the lack of discipline with its accom-

panying entanglement of vested interests, and the centrifugal tendencies in ecclesiastical and national politics.

The positive forces of the Catholic Reformation, Janelle maintains, were already embodied in Christian humanism. Almost submerged by Protestantism, this humanism again found expression at the Council of Trent, where the absolute authority of the papacy in religious matters was restored; in the religious revival among the older monastic orders and the activities of the new orders, such as the Oratorians, Theatines, and Jesuits; in education and scholarship, which combined classical learning and Christian piety; in literature and the fine arts, which were adapted to the purposes and spirit of the Catholic Reformation; and in a new piety and mysticism, which reflected the optimism, devotion, and missionary spirit of the Council of Trent and served to regenerate not only the Catholic world but even the Anglican Church, in which it reached its height in the Oxford Movement.

Janelle is at his best in the sympathetic portrayal of the Trentine spirit. Some of the following conclusions will not, however, go unchallenged: that the pre-Reformation abuses in the church were not in part the consequence of "mistaken notions on justification, the worship of saints, Purgatory, etc." (p. 5); that Christian humanists were not forerunners of Protestantism (p. 35); that the French Revolution "was largely a reaction against clerical opulence" (p. 109); and that the Catholic Reformation was not directly influenced by the successes of Protestantism (pp. 63, 333). Nevertheless, all historians will welcome his contribution to an understanding of the Reformation era, the novel organization of his materials, and his excellent bibliography.

*Ohio State University*

HAROLD J. GRIMM

THE POLITICAL THEORY OF THE HUGUENOTS OF THE DISPERSION, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE THOUGHT AND INFLUENCE OF PIERRE JURIEU. By *Guy Howard Dodge*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1947. Pp. ix, 287. \$3.50.)

THIS book is a painstaking, well-bottomed study which attempts, according to the introduction (p. 3), "to show that the Huguenots of the Dispersion, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in France and after the Glorious Revolution in England, once more advanced a body of political speculation in the works of men like Pierre Jurieu and Jacques Abbadie, which . . . will . . . substantiate by and large" Figgis' assertion that "whether the motive was opportunism or conviction, the fact remains that to religious bodies the most potent expression of political principles has been due." Certainly the book makes clear that Jurieu and other Huguenots of his generation advanced a body of political speculation and that this speculation was largely opportunistic in character, being intimately connected with—if not actually disseminated to serve—political intrigues and diplomatic

maneuvers designed to recover Huguenot liberties in France. If the author intends to advance such men as Jurieu and Abbadie as hitherto neglected writers who deserve recognition alongside earlier Huguenots like Francis Hotman, Theodore Beza, and Philippe Duplessis-Mornay—and this reviewer cannot be sure that such is the author's intent—the evidence set forth displays Jurieu and his contemporaries as considerably inferior to their sixteenth century precursors. Nor, in this reviewer's opinion, did Jurieu and the others of his day give "the most potent expression of political principles" in their own times. The pre-eminence of Bossuet, Locke, and others already familiar to the period between 1680 and 1715 is not seriously disturbed—although, as Professor Dodge points out, if the "wave of the future" as of 1688 had been less secular it is likely that Jurieu and his fellow Huguenot refugees would have won a more celebrated niche in the histories of their day.

For Jurieu was fundamentally a theologian, a Calvinist theologian, not untouched by Cartesianism and the rising theories of "natural rights" but dedicated still to the ideals of the Christian commonwealth and determined that church and state, ecclesiastic and prince, should address themselves primarily to the furtherance of the glory of God. It is this "all-consuming passion for the establishment of absolute truth," as Professor Dodge insists (p. 234), that explains many of the apparent, if not real, inconsistencies in Jurieu's statements: as, for example, his insistence that the people must not rebel against a sovereign who is trying to erect the true religion (such as Louis XIV was supposed to be doing between 1682 and 1685, or William III after 1688), and that people should resist a king who is attempting to set up a false faith (as James II was supposed to be doing between 1685 and 1688, or Louis XIV after 1685). Further, Professor Dodge finds that Jurieu and other Huguenot writers of his period enunciated a doctrine of popular sovereignty "with the view of securing the support of the people without giving them actual power" (pp. 232–33). To Jurieu the monarchy must be absolute but not arbitrary, powerful enough to establish the true faith but constantly limited by Cicero's famous principle of Roman law, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*. And, as regards the question of religious toleration, Jurieu, at least, was "difficult" to the point of becoming absurd, as he both attacked Catholic persecution of Protestants and defended Protestant persecution of Catholics. The key to this dilemma was probably his dogmatic, Calvinistic view of "truth."

Pierre Jurieu was a copious writer, and Professor Dodge has not only encompassed his works as previously known but also he has convincingly shown that Jurieu was the author of a number of tracts hitherto of uncertain origin—such as the fifteen *Mémoires* which make up *Les Soupirs de la France esclave qui aspire après la liberté* (1689–90; see pp. 140–46). Moreover, Jurieu's works were often the fruit of controversies, for he entered into disputes with his onetime friend and colleague, Pierre Bayle, with Bishop Bossuet, and with others. The number of Jurieu's works, together with their polemical nature, render it very difficult to construct a clear, coherent, and uncontradictable statement of his political phi-



losophy. In this task, Professor Dodge appears to have been remarkably successful in producing a synthesis.

It was, perhaps, because of the magnitude of the work on Jurieu that Professor Dodge gives comparatively slight attention to other Huguenot writers of the Dispersion. Besides Bayle, whose presence becomes essential because of Jurieu's controversies with him, five Huguenot apologists are briefly discussed (pp. 120-38). These are Jacques Abbadie, Antoine Coulan, La Combe de Vrigny, Isaac de Larrey, and Elie Benoit. Obviously, the modifying phrase in the title means what it says!

As Professor Dodge began with Figgis, so he concludes with a quotation from him to the effect that "reluctantly and in spite of themselves, religious societies were led by practical necessities to employ upon their own behalf doctrines which are now the common heritage of the Western World." The Huguenots herein discussed employed, with reluctance and many modifications, such weapons as the theory of popular sovereignty and of religious toleration. Perhaps, as Professor Dodge states (p. 230), "Jurieu and the other Huguenots of the Dispersion have an important place" in the "gradual transmission of political ideas from the religious plane to the temporal"; if so, it was certainly "in spite of themselves" so far as Jurieu's opinion appears to go. Another possible influence of these later Huguenot polemical writings and literary journals is that, by their favorable comments on English political institutions after the Glorious Revolution, they made the French popular mind more receptive to the similar, though more extravagant and more secular, praise of English ways in Montesquieu, Voltaire, and other writers of the Enlightenment.

*University of Illinois*

RAYMOND P. STEARNS

ALL COHERENCE GONE: THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CONTROVERSY ON THE DECAY OF NATURE. By *Victor Harris*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1949. Pp. x, 255. \$5.00.)

It is now some thirty years since Professor Richard F. Jones first published his monograph on the effect of scientific discovery in the early seventeenth century on the conventional view of the universe in decay. Jones's thesis stimulated a number of scholars to relate the new idea of science to contemporary obsessions with mutability and the mood of pessimism. Now comes a book which reviews the history of the idea of decay in its various manifestations with the intention of determining the nature of its appeal and "the change that finally outmoded the accepted world picture and substituted a different picture, another kind of order" (p. 1). Professor Harris's analysis of the grounds upon which the controversy over the decay of nature was waged is much more detailed but hardly more informing than Jones's chapter on the subject, and little if anything has been gained by his comprehensive, dogged survey of the whole terrain covered by the chief protagonists in the controversy, Godfrey Goodman and George Hakewill. Professor Harris shows the same persistence in following the history of the idea through the sixteenth and

into the seventeenth century. This by general consent is an important battle, but the author's decision to approach it title by title offers little encouragement to the reader interested in tracing the lines upon which the battle developed. Furthermore, his detection in the seventies and eighties of the sixteenth century of "a more explicit concern" over the idea of decay as well as an extension of it from the sub-lunar to the heavenly sphere (p. 3), seems, in the present reviewer's opinion, to presume a good deal on the evidence. That such a change did occur and that it was related to the new discoveries in science Jones had already shown, but that the change occurred at just the time Harris believes is not so readily deducible.

The author leaves to conjecture, as Jones did not, the geographical limitations of his survey. Had he chosen to limit his discussion to English writers, as indeed he generally does, it would still be puzzling that for the precise time in which he holds the change to have occurred, he cites no English work before Francis Shakelton's *Blazying Starre* (1580), already cited by Jones as the first to mention the theory in England. His case is further obscured by quotations of Continental works in English translations dating well beyond the period in question. Antonio de Torquemada's *Jardin de flores curiosas* is quoted in an English translation of 1600; Pierre de la Primaudaye's *L'Académie française*, 1618; Guillaume du Bartas' *Le Semaine ou création du monde*, 1880; Louis Leroy's *Douze livres de la vicissitude ou variété des choses de l'univers*, 1594; Justus Lipsius' *De constantia*, 1670. Such loose handling of sources seriously weakens an argument dubious on its face. In fact, to set finger on "the change" and the exact decade when "the urgent excitement of discovery" took place (pp. 123-24) suggests a far more specific cause than the evidence warrants. The "climate of opinion"—at least in Britain—is not subject to such neat analysis, even in retrospect.

More generally, one wonders if too much has been said in recent years of the debilitating effect of the general belief in a theory of decay and not enough of the corresponding and general belief in a theory of regeneration. It is not clear why the new science should contribute to a "spectacular increase" in belief in the decay of nature (p. 93). It did not have that effect on Bacon. And to say that the increased interest in the world's decay is "a reflection of renewed interest in man's sin and in his need for salvation" (p. 94), or that "man's immorality is more apparent than ever in the busy, secular society of the Renaissance" (*ibid.*) is to smother the thesis needlessly under the most elusive of generalizations. Through the current lugubrious picture of the Renaissance mind, one seems to trace still the old optimistic outlines. The Bower of Bliss is matched by the Gardens of Adonis. And why does Professor Harris have so little to say about Shakespeare, whose sense of regeneration is the dominating spirit of the later plays? Of this complementary spirit, the author is not wholly unaware, but one might make a shrewd guess that the seeds of generation in the Renaissance are as important and as numerous as the seeds of decay.

University of Maryland

W. GORDON ZEEVELD

HISTOIRE DE LA POPULATION MONDIALE DE 1700 À 1948. By *Marcel R. Reinhard*, Professeur à l'Institut d'Études politiques de l'Université de Paris. (Paris: Éditions Domat-Montchrestien. 1949. Pp. 795.)

THIS book is just what its title indicates. It brings together much of the information regarding population growth since 1700 available to the Western scholar. The reviewer is, of course, unable to verify all the factual data used in such a comprehensive effort, but the work is based on reliable sources and seems a sound piece of scholarship. As such it constitutes an important addition to the literature of modern demography. As a demographer the reviewer would have liked to see a more critical evaluation of some of the materials used although he realizes that several equally thick volumes and an almost impossible effort would have been required if this had been undertaken, even for Europe alone.

On the other hand, in a study such as this, the historian can give, and in this case has given, much interesting and useful material on social change, particularly in Europe, which is helpful in understanding some of the distinctive developments in population growth during the past two and a half centuries. Here, too, desirable as it would have been, it was quite impossible to go into the details of social and economic developments which parallel the changes in population. Only in the case of France is the description of the social development affecting population growth reasonably adequate. The titles of the three chapters dealing with France during the eighteenth century will give a fair idea of the author's use of social history in connection with population changes: "Traditional Aspects of the French Population," "Change in the French Population," and "The French Revolution and Population." These chapters occupy almost half the space in Part I, "The Expansion of Population during the Century of the Enlightenment."

In the reviewer's opinion one of the most significant accomplishments of the author is his clear portrayal of the unusual character of population growth since 1700. At many points he ties this growth up with the whole complex of modern social development. The reviewer believes that this treatment of population change as a natural development closely associated with the evolution of the modern power age is essential if we are to understand the significance of modern population growth. As might be expected of a historian entering this field, the author sees population growth and change merely as aspects of the larger historical process, albeit an important aspect. This is all to the good. Far too often one finds a particular aspect of social change and growth treated as though it were a development quite apart from the total social development of which it is an organic part. This book should do much to help future students avoid the error of the particularistic treatment of population growth, of its treatment as a separate element in social development.

There is almost no effort to indicate the probable consequences of the changes in population growth portrayed here. This is true even in the treatment of population growth in France in which the author must have a great personal and na-

tional as well as professional interest. The reviewer would have enjoyed an objective appraisal of the consequences of the French population changes by a historian with M. Reinhard's point of view.

If this book is to be used extensively as a reference work it should have had an index and subheadings. The tables and charts could also have been improved in form, and it would have helped to add references to the sources from which they are derived. The bibliography is fairly extensive and quite up to date. It will be useful to the general reader who would like to probe certain aspects of modern population growth more extensively but would have been more useful to such readers if a few of the more general works, at least, had been commented on briefly.

*Miami University*

WARREN S. THOMPSON

EUROPE ON THE MOVE: WAR AND POPULATION CHANGES, 1917-47. By *Eugene M. Kulischer*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. Pp. xi, 377. \$5.00.)

ACCORDING to its jacket this book "is based on the thesis that migratory movements, caused by overpopulation, are the major causes of warfare on this earth." In his text Kulischer specifically rejects such an all-inclusive theory but he does attempt to explain much of recent European history in terms of human migration.

The author is best known to American readers for his excellent documentation of war movements in *The Displacement of Population in Europe*, published by the International Labour Office in 1943. The present work extends the time range of the earlier volume and attempts to put the empirical movements into a theoretical framework that describes the growth of international tensions in terms of the frustration of "natural" migratory currents.

In *Europe on the Move* Kulischer has made a unique contribution in piecing together the extremely complex pattern of European migration since 1917. The magnitude of his task may be indicated from his summary tables, which list eighty-nine major international migrations, involving a permanent movement of over forty million people. Especially valuable is his documentation of migrations in eastern Europe on the basis of sources not readily available to most American students. He pictures the migratory history of modern Europe as consisting of two watersheds, one flowing to the west and overseas, the other flowing eastward into Asiatic Russia. The "continental divide" roughly paralleled the interwar boundaries of the Soviet Union in Europe. There has been a continued pressure from east to west because of higher living standards in the latter. Artificial political barriers have on occasion checked this movement, but as a result of both world wars the boundaries and the peoples of the east have broken through these barriers and driven back the west to establish a greater economic "equilibrium."

The study frankly views Europe from the east rather than from the west. Migratory movements in southern Europe are sketchily treated and those of western

Europe are considered only in so far as they concern migrants from other areas. The Second World War is interpreted as a futile effort of the Germans to halt the historical destiny of eastern expansion. The results of the war are described as a natural adjustment in keeping with elemental demographic forces. Overpopulation in Germany now means future conflict unless provision is made for migration from this and other overcrowded European countries. In Kulischer's words, what is needed is "a powerful regulatory world scale organization—a TVA of migratory currents."

Many readers may feel that Kulischer's explanation of modern wars in terms of migration pressure does not always bear close scrutiny. Thus Kulischer describes the First World War as an eruption resulting from the sudden clogging of the channels of migration. This hypothesis ignores the fact that the major barriers to free migration were established after rather than before World War I. Despite such limitations Kulischer does a valuable service in emphasizing and documenting an often neglected factor in international tensions.

Washington, D. C.

DUDLEY KIRK

LES ÎLES BRITANNIQUES ET LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE (1789-1803). By *Jules Dechamps*, Professeur à l'Université de Londres. (Brussels: La Renaissance du Livre. 1949. Pp. 245.)

THIS is a delightful little book, charmingly written, lucid, concise, well proportioned, and scholarly. The author has taken great pains thoroughly to examine and to appraise a tremendous volume of secondary literature bearing on his subject, and the wealth of source material which he has utilized and compressed within his relatively few pages is astonishing.

He has distinguished with precision and clarity between British Whigs and British Jacobins. There are many apt quotations from contemporary pamphlets and from parliamentary speeches. Full justice has been done to those Englishmen who strove for reconciliation with France rather than war, and Erskine, the famous advocate, in particular is commended.

Political theory is reduced to a minimum, and the customary analysis of Paine *vs.* Burke is fortunately omitted. This curtailment is true also of the author's approach to formal diplomatic history. What he has done is to catch the spirit of the times and to reflect how living Britons reacted to the revolutionary happenings taking place on the Continent.

Professor Dechamps is, perhaps, somewhat unfair in his estimate of Pitt. That the latter ultimately became a bitter ender is true. Nevertheless, British opposition to revolutionary France was something more than reaction against a threat to the *status quo* in England. The liberties if not the welfare of Swiss, Dutch, Italian, and other nationalities were in danger from French imperialism, and the author's praise of Napoleon is not exactly nonpartisan.

Napoleon, he tells us, "Was a Jacobin, but one of a new species"—as described by our author, a rather admirable variety. Not he but Pitt was responsible for the breach of the Peace of Amiens. For this point of view a great deal might fairly be said; but against it also arguments not lacking in weight might be advanced.

This reviewer, however, is quite willing to pardon a somewhat Francophile slant on the part of the author in view of the lively movement of his book and its literary excellence. It contains not a dull paragraph and is beautifully illustrated with contemporary portraits and numerous cartoons.

Princeton University

WALTER P. HALL

LA RIVOLUZIONE EUROPEA (1848-1849). By *Luigi Salvatorelli*. (Milan: Rizzoli Editore. 1949. Pp. 350. L. 700.)

THIS is a splendid book on the revolutions of 1848. It is not a work of original research in the primary documentary materials for the whole of Europe during the period—there are no footnotes, no bibliography, formal or otherwise—but it represents a wide reading in the literature and, more important, a careful consideration of the facts as established. There are no incorrect statements worth mention: there are a few points on which the author's specific interpretation leaves room for argument.

The differences between bourgeoisie and proletariat, between moderates and proponents of social democracy are well analyzed. The strongest part of the work, however, is the exposition of the failure of the pre-1848 dream, of the Mazzinian ideal of the solidarity of peoples revolting against absolutistic governments. The national antagonisms and conflicts which quickly appeared played into the hands of the existing regimes which were never wholly captured by the revolutionary movements. Historic tradition—municipalism in Italy, particularism in Germany—tended to retard the momentum of the movements for unity until the existing states could regain some equilibrium. The Habsburgs were saved by the controversies of the nationalities they ruled. Salvatorelli points out, as not sufficiently emphasized, the intolerance and authoritarian spirit of the movements of nationality even in 1848. He is an Italian: the description of the manifestations of Italian national sentiment in the countryside of Istria in 1848 is doubtless based on Italian and not on Slavic sources (p. 203).

Not unmindful of Europe's recent experiences, Salvatorelli gives great emphasis to the ugly aspects of the German movement of 1848, "a liberalism which was colored, diversely from that of Italy, with aggressive nationalism, with Pan Germanism" (p. 68); the *Paulskirche* conceived of Venetia as German *Lebensraum* although they did not use that word (p. 201); "Once again Hitler had his precursors in these nationalists of Frankfort" (p. 303). But, if the movements of 1848 failed for lack of power (p. 332), if France failed Europe by avoiding intervention against the Habsburgs in Italy (pp. 243 ff.), and if the restoration of Austrian

power marked the turning of the tide (pp. 254 ff.), should not the conclusions of the book concede, or at least allude to the fact that Pan-Germanism became a political reality only after the destruction of Austria-Hungary? Who hated the Habsburgs the more, Mazzini or Hitler?

Washington, D. C.

HOWARD McGAW SMYTH

MEN IN CRISIS: THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848. By *Arnold Whitridge*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1949. Pp. 364. \$5.00.)

THE centenary of the revolutions of 1848 produced many articles and books here and abroad by way of reappraisal of that *annus mirabilis* which promised so much and produced so little, and a number of historians have indulged in the generalizations permitted the prophets who look backward to find out why history refused to turn when it was supposed to.

Mr. Whitridge, a scholar in the field of literature and history now safely returned from the wars, has ventured to retell the story of 1848 primarily in the form of a series of biographical sketches of its leading characters, and without inflicting generalizations or prophecies upon his readers. In separate chapters, he deals with France, Italy, Germany, and the Habsburg monarchy, and in a final chapter he discusses, rather superficially, some of the repercussions of the revolutions in the United States. For France, the story revolves around Louis Philippe, Lamartine, and Louis Napoleon, and minor characters such as Louis Blanc, Ledru-Rollin, Blanqui, Barbès, and General Cavaignec. In Italy, the *Risorgimento* is largely an account of the career of Mazzini and Garibaldi. For Germany, the *dramatis personae* are Bakunin, Marx, and Engels, almost to the exclusion of all others, and for the Habsburg Empire, the spotlight obviously plays on Metternich, Szechenyi, and Kossuth, as the clash between the forces of nationalism and liberalism becomes more violent.

The author has recreated these turbulent years, when so many men were living in crisis, from the standard sources, and he has recounted the experiences of the leading actors in vivid, dramatic, and even exciting style, and with occasional epigrams which are both striking and illuminating. For the reader without special knowledge of the period, this book will provide a stirring introduction; for those familiar with the material, it will provide additional detail and an interesting case study of the biographical method in history.

Mr. Whitridge knows very well that biography and history, though intimately related, are not the same, and that the latter is "not synonymous" with the lives of great men. Whatever shortcomings his volume has stem from the biographical approach. The chapter on France is the most successful. The one on Germany is the least satisfactory and therefore may be used to illustrate the difficulties encountered when the biographical method is used for so complex a phenomenon as the revolutions of 1848-49. Marx, Engels, and Bakunin loom so large in this chapter



that the uninformed might conclude that the Marxists made the German revolutions, or at least were the decisive force in them. There is little in this chapter describing the discontent of the peasants and their demands for an end to feudal burdens; or the romantic idealism of the *Turnvereine* and the *Burschenschaften* of the universities; or the alarm of the craftsman lest the industrial revolution depress him into a hopeless proletariat; or crop failures, rising prices, unemployment, and the radical republicanism of Hecker, Heinzen, Struve, and others. Because of a concentration on Frederick William IV and the dramatic events on the Berlin barricades, one finds almost nothing about the revolution in Baden and the Palatinate, and the discussion of the Frankfurt Parliament is too brief to give a realistic picture of its futile efforts to implement Germany's *Völkerfrühling*. There is brief mention of some of these matters in a final chapter, but by that time the material seems out of perspective. The chapter on "Repercussions in America" contains pages that have no clear relation to the revolutions of 1848, however interesting or important they may be for the social history of the United States, and the sketches of Schurz, Weitling, and Weydemeyer, good as they are, fall far short of giving an adequate account of the total impact of the radicalism of the refugees of 1848 upon the American people. Mr. Whitridge has produced excellent biographical material, but for a complete understanding of the revolutions one will have to supplement *Men in Crisis* with the more conventional historical accounts.

*Western Reserve University*

CARL WITKE

L'INSURRECTION DE MILAN E LE CONSIDERAZIONI SUL 1848. By Carlo Cattaneo. Edited by Cesare Spellanzon. (3d ed.; Turin: Giulio Einaudi Editore. 1949. Pp. lxxxix, 347. L. 1500.)

FOR students of the Italian revolutionary movements of 1848 in particular, and of the *Risorgimento* in general, this publication is of fundamental importance. Edited by one of the most eminent authorities on the period, it tells the story of the Lombard revolution and the royal war of 1848 as seen through the eyes of Carlo Cattaneo, federal-republican leader of the successful Milanese rising. The first edition appeared in 1942, the second in 1946; this edition is corrected and enlarged to include an epilogue of importance.

The rare first edition of *L'Insurrection de Milan en 1848* written by Cattaneo and published in France in September, 1848, is herein reprinted as it originally appeared. Successive Italian editions later produced by Cattaneo in exile in the Canton Ticino are considerably different. The subsequent editions, although more carefully documented, do not have the virulence of the first account of the insurrection, nor do they have the brutal frankness of Cattaneo's indictment of the Piedmontese monarchy, the army, and the Lombard-Piedmontese aristocracy in their roles in the royal war. It is the invaluable contribution of a leading protagonist written almost in the heat of battle, with the violence of his hatred of

servile courtesans and Jesuitism, as portrayed by the Sabauda monarchy, and with the passion of his love for liberty inseparable from civil progress.

After the failures of the Italian revolutions of 1848-49 Cattaneo resolved to assemble and systematize all the documents, memoirs, newspaper comments—in fact all the primary material available on the revolutionary period—into one monumental multivolumed publication that would tell the Italian story from the coming of Pius IX to the pontifical throne in 1846 to the return of the Austrians to power in Italy in 1849, a collection which was to be entitled “L’archivio triennale delle cose d’Italia dall’avvenimento di Pio IX, 1846, all’abbandono di Venezia, 1849.” Financial difficulties and other obstacles interrupted this project before it could be finished, and only three volumes were published (1851-55).

Spellanzon has assembled the notations and reflections inserted by Cattaneo as comments on the documents in each of the three volumes and has published them herein, with thorough and complete explanatory notes, under the title “Considerazioni sulle cose d’Italia nel 1848.” The assembled notes provide a brief but accurate account of the 1846-48 period in Italian history. However, the real value of the “Considerazioni” lies in the revelation of Cattaneo’s brilliant insight and grasp of the weaknesses and strengths of nineteenth century Italian society, politics, and economics.

By way of introduction to the two Cattanean volumes the editor has written an eighty-page account of the role of Cattaneo in 1848, completely documented from the traditional sources and with some material drawn from more recent discoveries and interpretations. As an introspective epilogue Spellanzon has appended an article, “Carlo Alberto sulla via di Milano ed oltre,” which first appeared in the April and May issues of the *Rassegna d’Italia* for 1946. Carefully documented and clearly written, it emerges as a sound, scholarly, and devastatingly frank attack on the role of the Savoy monarchy in the last days of the war of 1848. Confirmed and corroborated and critically interpreted, the Cattanean views are more than satisfactorily supported.

*University of Mississippi*

GEORGE A. CARBONE

1848: CHAPTERS OF GERMAN HISTORY. By *Veit Valentin*. Translated by *Ethel Talbot Scheffauer*. (London: George Allen and Unwin. 1940. Pp. 480. 12s. 6d.)

No adequate general history of the German revolutions of 1848-49 has hitherto existed in English, so far as this reviewer knows. Nor, it is regretfully to be said, does the present work come very close to supplying that deficiency. It is all the more unfortunate that this should be so because a better abridged translation of Veit Valentin’s *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution von 1848-49* could fairly readily have been made, and the two-volume original comes much closer to being a definitive treatment.

Apparently, however, the translator or the publisher aimed at the broadest segment of the semipopular reading public, with the result that a great deal of Valentin's most informative material and the most cogent parts of his interpretive analysis were expurgated. What is left makes an entertaining and sometimes enlightening book that is often highly reminiscent of Emil Ludwig at his best, for Valentin's excellent biographical sketches have generally been retained. The student of economic, social, or intellectual developments will, however, perforce have to be content with occasional fragments chosen (so far as I can see) almost wholly at random from the rather extensive discussions afforded by the German version. Moreover, no account is given of the September insurrection in Frankfort, aside from a reference farther on in the book where the rising is alluded to in the pluperfect tense, and similar treatment is accorded to the last sessions and final dissolution of the Prussian National Assembly. The October revolution in Vienna is very scantily described in six pages, most of which are given over to reflections about the personal eccentricities of some of the leading participants.

A number of the weaknesses of the German version also appear, and in exaggerated form, in the present translation. These include a disproportionate emphasis on diplomatic transactions, and a most irritating propensity (common to so much German historical writing) to moralize or to let rhetoric take the place of ideas (*e.g.*, "this [Frankfort] assembly had the rhythm of high-German or even universal tension," [p. 287]; or "the arrogance of Christian-universal-historic culture" [p. 296]). On the score of general interpretation, too, one may not unreasonably object to Valentin's invariable reliance upon the venerable legend that the liberal "Constitutionalist" leaders (Gagern, Dahlmann, and their friends) were pure-hearted, though naive, idealists whose motives were never selfish nor calculating and whose actions were never devious nor unworthy.

It is likewise unsatisfactory to be told that the failure of the entire political reform movement is chiefly attributable to the bad manners of the tiny group of radical revolutionaries who allegedly clamored so loudly for social legislation that they frightened the vast majority of honest, moderate liberals out of their wits. Although this line of apology for German liberalism's ignominious surrender of leadership in 1848 (a surrender that occurred much too early to fit the theory proposed) is one that has perhaps been hallowed by persistent repetition and almost universal acceptance, it is nonetheless a needlessly lame and implausible explanation of what took place. So far as I have been able to trace its origin, this idea arose out of a deliberate misunderstanding of Friedrich Engels' over-hasty judgment concerning the reasons for the liberals' unwillingness to permit even a microscopic revolutionary break with the authoritarian past. This socio-economic explanation, even when rather more acceptably stated by Engels, needs to be supplemented by an analysis of the extent to which liberals like Dahlmann were hostile to the very idea of revolutionary change even before the outbreak of the struggle in 1848. Such an analysis leads back to the previous development of political and social

ideas in Germany and to a study of why German liberalism had remained so perversely and so illogically attached to authoritarian ideals and values.

The translation is marred by a large number of excessively literal renderings of German terms and idioms, frequently so wide of the mark as to make the text incomprehensible even to the reader who is in a position to guess at what the original may have been.

*Columbia University*

RALPH H. BOWEN

SOZIALE UND POLITISCHE GESCHICHTE DER REVOLUTION VON 1848. By *Rudolf Stadelmann*. (Munich: Münchner Verlag. 1948. Pp. 216. DM. 8.)

PROFESSOR Stadelmann is one of the most prominent living German historians. His book on the German revolution of 1848 is an indication of the high quality of historical scholarship still present in postwar Germany. It is to be regretted that this down-to-earth, thoroughly factual, and yet stimulating analytical account of the revolutionary years in Germany was not available to American scholars in time for their commemorative discussion. Of all the books on the subject this shows most clearly (and in readable length) both the rapidly changing surface features and the ground swell of the German revolution. Its quality is a tribute to the author's approach: he wants to lay bare certain general principles of political and social life, in the spirit of the eighteenth century philosophers, insisting, however, that these principles remain peculiar to the given historical period rather than that they be made universally applicable. Whether the author succeeds in this undertaking (which is challenging and of considerable methodological interest) may be questioned. But then, what historian can entirely escape preoccupation with the fact-finding process in order to acquire the broad theoretical knowledge required to make the most of such an approach? This book proves how beneficial even a limited sharpening of the historian's perception by social theory can be.

Professor Stadelmann follows on the whole a traditional line of investigation, analyzing rural society, the urban trends (with emphasis upon the growing differentiation between industry and the crafts), the events of March, the Frankfort Parliament, the international setting, and the hardening of class and party differences in the rising reaction. With his analytical awareness he shows particularly well the ambiguous nature of the German upheaval, the impact of a foreign pattern of revolution upon a country politically immature and subdivided, the confusion of a people whose imagination had been widened by foreign events and theories but who were incapable of grasping the significance of conditions close at hand. The only criticism one might make is that, despite his attention to social factors, the author does not investigate in detail the political aptitude and managerial capacities of the German middle class in the total balance of political, social, and economic forces. He does not see his own class in its true perspective.

It is revealing, however, to contrast Professor Stadelmann's views with those of liberal historians a hundred years ago. For the creation of a united and liberal Germany Stadelmann would have advocated unification under the leadership of an energetic liberal Prussian ministry in co-operation with the British government and the Italian revolutionaries. He would have given up Schleswig-Holstein and the Austrian possessions in Italy and curbed the nationalist ardor of liberals and democrats. He finds the international constellation to have been favorable, arguing that no foreign power would have intervened if provocative side issues, like the Danish duchies, had been avoided. He thus blames the failure of the liberal attempt at national unification squarely on internal developments. It is a rare German historian who can so successfully emancipate himself from the dogma of the *Primat der Aussenpolitik*.

Since events took a different turn, this evaluation will not escape contradiction. But, as historical interpretation also molds current opinion, this book may exercise a salubrious influence upon German readers. At any rate, the American student of German history in the nineteenth century, as of comparative European history in general, will enjoy it for its scholarly merits and wish that it, rather than the abbreviated version of Veit Valentin's work, were available in English.

*Swarthmore College*

THEODORE H. VON LAUE

A HANDBOOK OF SLAVIC STUDIES. Edited by *Leonid I. Strakhovsky*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. xxi, 753. \$12.50.)

DIFFICULT as it is to produce co-operative works, it is even more difficult to review them. Usually the editor receives much less credit for his labors than he should. In this case, the editor and the Harvard University Press deserve high credit for producing a solid and handsome volume. No reviewer exists, however, who can adequately criticize a work like this covering an immense field in history and in literature. At most, he can make a few observations on the way this volume is likely or not to attain its objective.

The editor indicates that this *Handbook* is "primarily designed for scholars, students and general public not familiar with Slavic languages." The manuscript itself was virtually in the hands of the editor by the end of 1944. Subsequently a number of the chapters on recent history appear to have been extended very briefly to cover the events into 1946 and even into 1947. Apart from the three general introductory chapters (two by S. H. Cross and one by A. Senn), eighteen are devoted to history and seven to the history of the literature of the Slavs. Altogether seventeen different authors, most of them well known in this country, have contributed to this volume. Russian (and Ukrainian) history is presented in six chapters by S. R. Tompkins, G. V. Lantzeff, L. I. Strakhovsky, O. J. Fredericksen, and J. D. Clarkson. O. Halecki has written the four chapters on Polish history. Czech and Slovak history is covered by S. H. Thomson, H. F. Schwarz, and J. Hanč and

Balkan history by C. E. Black and D. E. Lee. Russian literature is described by S. H. Cross, O. Maslenikov, and E. J. Simmons, Polish by F. J. Whitfield, Czech and Slovak by O. Rádl, and Balkan and Lusatian by C. A. Manning.

Characterized as a whole the historical chapters are mainly concerned with political history, the emphasis being on domestic affairs. Economic, social, and religious history and foreign policy are relatively neglected. The lack of the latter is especially felt in the otherwise adequate concluding chapter on Soviet Russia by J. D. Clarkson, where less than two pages out of twenty are given to Soviet foreign relations and the Third International is mentioned in two sentences. By contrast to the chapters on Russia and the other fields, the ones on Poland, having been written by a single outstanding scholar (O. Halecki), appear to favorable advantage in giving a more coherent story, as well as in stressing with clarity fundamental lines of development. It is in this connection that a better title for this volume might have been: "Handbook of Slavic History and Literature." There is ample room for a companion volume on Slavic social studies.

The reviewer is not competent to criticize the chapter on Slavic linguistics and those on the history of the literature of the Slavic peoples. These chapters, like the ones on history, are thorough and meaty. They have the same encyclopedic character. The important thing is that they have been brought together into one volume that will be handy and useful for students not having easy access to the thirty or forty encyclopedias and general and monographic works, which would give them approximately the same materials.

The bibliographies of works in the western European languages, appended to chapters, are excellent, but this is subject to a serious reservation. To economize, the editor decided "not to repeat the listing of any work which is found in a previous bibliography." In this way a volume may be cited in the bibliography of a previous chapter where it is not vital and omitted in a later one where it is really needed. However, the editor is not entirely consistent in following his rule, nor in limiting textual footnotes to titles in Slavic. Because the editor discusses in his introductory chapter (pp. ix-xxi) only general historical works (chiefly textbooks written in English or translated into English) and not monographs, which have been the real contributions of Anglo-Saxon scholars, he, unfortunately though perhaps unintentionally, minimizes their contribution to the field. His statement (p. ix) that "so far practically nothing has been done" in Slavic studies in America is certainly not to be taken seriously.

*University of California, Berkeley*

ROBERT J. KERNER

SLAVONIC ENCYCLOPAEDIA. Edited by *Joseph S. Roucek*, University of Bridgeport. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1949. Pp. xi, 1445.)

DURING the past generation Slavic studies have commanded ever-increasing interest on the part of American students, but it is only in recent years that this inter-

est has begun to take the form of extensive publication. The *Slavonic Encyclopaedia* is an ambitious compilation which deserves recognition as a pioneer work in its field. As general editor, Professor Roucek has attracted the talents of a large group of collaborators, many of whom are well known as Slavic experts. This volume should prove to be a valuable aid to the increasing number of persons interested in the Slavic field and, like all pioneer works, will serve both as a guide and a warning to future compilers.

The *Slavonic Encyclopaedia* is not intended as a scholarly reference work cast along traditional lines but rather as a comprehensive introduction to the Slavic peoples for the English-speaking world. Style and subject matter have been chosen with a view to appealing to the general public rather than to specialists. The most useful sections of the *Slavonic Encyclopaedia* will doubtless be the general articles on such topics as art, constitutions, education, folklore, foreign policy, historiography, history, literature, music, and theater. Each of these articles embraces all of the Slavic peoples and forms a convenient starting point for a beginner who wishes to investigate the Slavic contributions in one or another of these fields. The particular interests of the editor have also led him to include a great deal of material on American Slavs. Thus Augustine Herrman (1605–86), the first Czech immigrant to the United States, receives more space than Chekhov or Dostoevsky. At the same time, individual articles are devoted to such contemporary Americans of Slavic birth or descent as the late Professor Morris R. Cohen, Professor Robert J. Kerner, Professor Joseph S. Roucek, the editor, Congressman Adolph J. Sabath, and others. The bulk of this material, however, is in a series of articles on the various Slavic groups in the United States, although the editor has included a separate article on "Slavs in Hollywood." Another characteristic of the *Slavonic Encyclopaedia* is its strong emphasis on the separate individuality of the smaller Slavic peoples. The Ukrainians are particularly favored, and some figures usually associated with the larger Russian family are claimed for the Ukraine. Thus "Petro Chaykovsky," more familiar to the English-speaking public as Petr Ilich Tchaikovsky, is described here as a "Ukrainian composer." It is doubtless also as a result of the special purposes of this volume that a great deal of attention is devoted to contemporary personalities and events at the expense of those connected with the medieval and early modern periods.

In such a large compilation there are bound to be inclusions and omissions which many will question, and a few of these may be suggested in case a revised edition is contemplated. Thus the long article on "Misconceptions about Slavic Europe" includes highly controversial material which hardly belongs in an encyclopedia such as this. One is moreover surprised to find no separate articles on Peter the Great or Pushkin, who are of course mentioned in the general articles on history and literature, although space has been found for brief sketches of Danny Kaye and Pola Negri. It is also regrettable that in a number of the biographical accounts the dates of birth and death of the individuals concerned are



not given. Finally, the inclusion of a certain amount of bibliographical material, especially at the end of the longer articles, would add greatly to the usefulness of the volume.

*Princeton University*

C. E. BLACK

SOVIET ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SINCE 1917. By *Maurice Dobb*, Lecturer in Economics in the University of Cambridge. (New York: International Publishers. 1949. Pp vii, 475. \$4.00.)

AN earlier book by the same author, which appeared in England twenty years ago, has been rewritten and expanded and now appears in an American edition. It consists of three parts: the first lays the ground work and sketches the economic development of Russia prior to the October Revolution; the second embraces the main historical part; and the third discusses special features of Soviet economic policies.

He is indeed a bold writer who can struggle through the immense mass of material published on Soviet economic development in an effort to make it intelligible to the layman. Professor Dobb gives evidence of a close familiarity with this material as well as with the economic policies of the Communist party and the difficulties it has encountered. He touches on almost every phase of the story and generally gives a plausible account of events.

If careful scholarship, painstaking analysis, and dexterity in handling statistics and tables and in making apt citations were all that were to be looked for, then the author would have done all that could be expected from mortal man. To some extent he has cleared a way through the jungle, but, despite the heroic measures, one is likely at times to feel lost. Sometimes his explanations raise more questions than they answer.

It seems that something more is expected of a writer who undertakes so important a subject. How can any history of the Soviet Union, let alone its economic history during the past thirty-two years, be written without depicting something of the horrors of the famines of 1921-1922 and 1932-1933, or of the liquidation of the Kulaks, or of the concentration camps with their enormous reservoirs of slave labor, or of the party purges? In chapter xvi the author deplores the attempt to write economic history of the Soviet Union without taking into account the human factor; yet to him this history is composed of cold impersonal tables, of totals, of voluminous reports with endless statistics.

If it be urged that these subjects are too controversial to handle, there are countless issues on which a much clearer light could have been thrown by dealing with them in human terms. The matter of capital investment is one of these. On pages 349-50 the problem is discussed with emphasis on the difference between a capitalist and a planned economy. Yet nowhere is there any recognition of the fact that irrespective of the form of society its costs must be borne by someone. In a capitalist society, these costs, through loans, are distributed fairly evenly

over a long period, while in a planned society they must be taken out of current production. This cannot but lower the standard of living.

In the discussion of the "Turnover Tax," the author states that "in choosing the things that are available for them to buy, consumers in the U.S.S.R. . . . have complete freedom of choice." In actual practice, this is hardly true. Workers in the lower brackets of the wage scale are not at liberty to choose any article that is offered for sale: the grim realities of life force them to concentrate on the food they and their families need; anything else must come after, if at all.

The reader, despite the author's protest, looks in vain for any real effort to appreciate events from a human standpoint, or to provide a critical appraisal of Soviet achievements.

*University of Oklahoma*

STUART R. TOMPKINS

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF SOVIET RUSSIA, 1929-1941. By *Max Beloff*. Volume II, 1936-1941. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 434. \$5.00.)

THE high standard of scholarship set by Mr. Beloff in the first volume of the study continues in the second volume. The two taken together present a concise digest and a critical analysis of all the evidence in hand so far. But the study, particularly the second volume, contains not simply a rehash of the evidence or a recapitulation of earlier analyses. There is refreshing reinterpretation. For example, the author insists that "it is as a period of renewed Soviet isolation that the years 1936-8 should be regarded" (p. 26), and that there was "an increasing mental isolationism" growing out of the collapse of collective security heralded by the re-occupation of the Rhineland and the outbreak of the Spanish civil war. Again, although more cautiously, Mr. Beloff suggests that "throughout the period of increasing tension in Europe, between the spring of 1936 and the spring of 1939, Soviet policy was largely influenced by anxieties in the Far East" (p. 167).

Only rarely does an unguarded statement creep into the text. One such avows that "the weight of historical evidence is now overwhelmingly against those who asserted that Communist Parties in other countries—in France or in China—could be anything but obedient executants of a policy settled in Moscow" (p. 390). Tito's recent defection would indicate that Mr. Beloff's judgment was hasty, although some will come forward to insist that Tito was never a true Communist. More typical of the author's caution are these statements:

The comparative eclipse of the Comintern during the "collective security" period and the dissolution of that institution on 22 May 1943, gave further support to those who argued that the Soviet Union was a State among other States, pursuing clearly defined ends by the conventional methods of *realpolitik*. It was not until after 1945 that the re-emergence of men like Togliatti, Dimitrov, and Thorez on the world-scene . . . suggested that the residence in Moscow of foreign Com-

munists might have any other object than the occasional signature of a manifesto. . . . An explanation of Soviet policy which dismisses the Revolution would seem to be an explanation which neither the facts nor Soviet writings warrant [p. 390].

In commenting on the first volume (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, July, 1948, p. 821), this reviewer suggested that Potemkin's *Istoriia Diplomatii* should be consulted, and that a review of the fundamentals of Russian foreign policy should be undertaken. The second volume shows careful use of Potemkin's work, and a short chapter on "The Principles of Soviet Foreign Policy" has been hastily thrown together and tacked on as a conclusion to the second volume. It is the only disappointing section in the entire study. The author dismisses the idea of fundamentals of Russian foreign policy, some of them imposed by her geographical position and therefore impossible for tsarist or Bolshevik government to ignore. Bolshevik diplomats, like their predecessors, have frequently insisted upon Russia's need for warm-water ports. And certainly Russia since 1917 has been as fully concerned about the control of the Straits as was any government before the October Revolution. Similarly, Germany's interest in the Straits and in keeping them under a control hostile to Russia, which the author makes clear (pp. 42, 46), did not originate with Hitler nor did it grow out of the changed situation brought about by the Russian Revolution. Mr. Beloff misinterprets Potemkin's avowal, which he quotes (p. 392), that "the end of the world war and the victory in Russia of the October Socialist Revolution meant the beginning of a new period in the history of diplomacy."

Careless editing has left the volume with some weird examples of punctuation and spelling which are at times bothersome and irritating. Transliteration from the Russian is not consistent. The conversation between Schnurre and Astakhov, which laid the basis for the Russo-German *rapprochement* in 1939, took place not on July 6 (p. 259), nor on July 27 (p. 261), but on July 26. But the errors are few in number and for the most part of minor importance.

The footnotes must be read carefully. Not only is the text fully documented but much additional information, some of which one feels should be in the body, is to be found in the footnotes. Use of the Nuremberg trial documents adds much to older interpretations. Gaps in the first volume are filled in by inclusion in the second of chapters dealing with "Russia, Turkey and the Straits" and "Russia and the Middle East, 1929-1939," in which those areas are dealt with for the whole period covered by the two volumes.

Not only will these two volumes be indispensable for those who seek to understand Russian foreign policy since 1929 but they must be studied carefully by those who are primarily interested in the foreign policy of any other power. It is sincerely to be hoped that, when the Royal Institute of International Affairs assigns the production of a history of Soviet foreign policy from 1917 to 1929, as it promises to do in the preface to the first volume, the assignment will fall to Max Beloff.

Montana State University

MELVIN C. WREN

RUSSIA AND THE WEST IN IRAN, 1918-1948: A STUDY IN BIG-POWER RIVALRY. By *George Lenczowski*, Hamilton College. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1949. Pp. xv, 383. \$4.50.)

THE purpose of this book, as stated by its author, is to tell the story of big-power rivalry in Iran between 1918 and 1948. During this period the "big powers," so far as Iran is concerned, were Soviet Russia, Great Britain, Germany (in the thirties), and the United States (during and since the Second World War). Mr. Lenczowski sets out to describe in detail the aims, policies, and activities of each of these powers in Iran, together with the political reactions and responses of the Iranian government.

The book offers few interpretations and conclusions, but, for its stated purpose and within its self-imposed limits, it is on the whole the fullest and most informative study that has yet appeared. The author makes judicious allotments of space. His treatment is well balanced. His generalizations are usually cautious, reserved, and fair. The material on Soviet-Iranian relations is particularly valuable.

The book's most serious shortcoming is inherent in its purpose and limits. Mr. Lenczowski necessarily leaves much unsaid. He has little to say about economic conditions, political factors, the instability and corruption of government, or the incompetency of administration, although these and other matters ignored or handled lightly have played more or less important roles in big-power rivalry. The author's treatment of American advisers in Iran, past and present, is superficial and inaccurate. In connection with Americans and American diplomacy generally, Mr. Lenczowski seems to have made little effort to use the available sources of information.

Another serious shortcoming lies in a failure to integrate and clarify. Courses of action are described in detail, but they are left in a loose state of suspension, as it were; and they are not clearly related to one another or to general causes or general effects. The final impression the reader gets is a somewhat confused one.

This volume is not likely to interest the general reader, but it should be useful to students of international relations and to specialists on the Near East. Those who are well acquainted with the sources and especially those who have first-hand knowledge of Iran will easily recognize and make allowances for the book's shortcomings. Such students will appreciate the information on Soviet policy, the illustrative documents reprinted in the appendix, and the serviceable index.

*Kalamazoo, Michigan*

A. C. MILLSPAUGH

## Far Eastern History

JOHN COMPANY AT WORK: A STUDY OF EUROPEAN EXPANSION IN INDIA IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Holden Furber*,

Associate Professor of History, University of Texas. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LV.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. xi, 407. \$6.00.)

THE original intention of Professor Furber, as he states in the preface, was to write a history of the consolidation of British power in India between 1783 and 1818. As his research progressed, however, he felt the necessity of additional work on the period before 1783. This volume then is primarily, though not exclusively, devoted to the years 1783 to 1793; but the social and economic forces described are those that were at work in one form or another in India from 1757 to 1818. In view of this shift in emphasis, Professor Furber hopes that this volume will be a final one in a larger work on the European expansion in India from 1708 to 1793.

The introduction on British India, 1783 to 1785, is followed by chapters dealing with the French, Dutch, and Danish companies; with the clandestine trade between India and Europe, mainly in the hands of British capitalists, centered in Copenhagen, Ostend, and Lisbon; with the "Country" trade, as the port-to-port trade of Asia and Africa east of the Cape of Good Hope was called; and with the trades and politics in Madras, Bombay, Bengal, and Leadenhall Street. From this narrative emerges not the conventional account of the Anglo-French struggle and of the relations of the East India Company with the British government on the one hand and with its servants on the other, but the picture of a European and not merely British society finding an outlet for economic pressures at home in the region from the Cape of Good Hope to China. While economic contacts between Europe and India were inevitable, imperialism was not; for it grew out of Indian weakness, particularly at sea. Thus the European, because he was all powerful at sea and superior in military matters on land, was able to set up a caste of his own in India. According to this interpretation, "British power in India grew out of the striving of an increasing number of Europeans for economic security through imperialism." These men "drawn from all strata of European society save the most secure" were interested only in personal gain and cared nothing about the effect of their actions on European society as a whole. This volume is a successful portrayal of how these forces combined to make the British mistress in India. Of course this supremacy was due chiefly to British control of the seas but also, according to Professor Furber, to the fact that Britain alone possessed the "strength to withstand the deleterious effects of imperialism when they came."

The only serious criticism that the reviewer has to offer is that some of the important points made so clearly in the fine conclusion would have been more effective if they had been suggested in the preface or introduction or had been highlighted in the succeeding chapters. On the whole the book is a very effective piece of research. The chapter on the "Country" trade and the last four pages of the conclusion are especially well done. This volume may not be the final word on the period covered because Professor Furber's own future research on the years from

1708 to 1783 and that which he hopes Indian scholars will do on the economic and social history of India in the eighteenth century may reverse some of his judgments.

*Western Reserve University*

DONALD GROVE BARNES

## American History

LITERATURE AND THEOLOGY IN COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND. By *Kenneth B. Murdock*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 235. \$4.00.)

THE purpose of this volume, as stated in the preface, is to "outline the relation between the New England Puritans' fundamental theological ideas and their literary theory and practice." More generally, the book is a defense of Puritanism against those critics who suspect every Puritan of harboring a devil.

Twenty-two years have gone by since Parrington published, in the first volume of his great work, his spirited attack on Professor Murdock. The latter had written his life of Increase Mather without coming to loathe that stern theocrat: Parrington concluded that the book had been "conceived in the dark of the moon." No doubt most American readers in 1927 agreed with Parrington, since it was then the fashion to ascribe all the bigotry of American life to our Puritan heritage. But Professor Murdock has gone on reading the literature of colonial New England on the assumption that the typical Puritan was not Antichrist in human form but a seventeenth century American. If students today are able to read Puritan literature not as liberal inquisitors sniffing for heresy but as historians trying to learn what it was and how it came to be written, part of the credit must go to the author of this volume.

The first chapter is a smooth sketch of English religious literature in the early seventeenth century—the parent of the New England stock. Chapter two, "The Puritan Literary Attitude," is the heart and best part of the book. It defines the literary theory of the Puritans with reference to what they wanted to say and to the limitations imposed upon their means of expression by their theological preconceptions and the audience for which they wrote. Later chapters review the Puritans' accomplishments in writing histories, biographies, and poems and illustrate the relation between their theory and their practice of literature.

Perhaps the least convincing sections of the book are those which estimate the later influence of Puritan literature. Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Melville, we know, owed much to the earlier writers of New England. That the same can be said for Longfellow, E. A. Robinson, Bancroft, Motley, Parkman, James, "and perhaps even . . . Eliot" is asserted but not proved in this volume. Here, and also in his evaluations of some Puritan authors, Professor Murdock weakens his case by overstating it.

As a description of Puritan literary theory, this book will interest critics and literary historians. As a judicious and easily read answer to the anti-Puritan critics and historians of the twenties, it will be a useful text for students majoring in American civilization.

*Rutgers University*

RICHARD SCHLATTER

THE SOUTHERN COLONIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, 1607-1689. By *Wesley Frank Craven*. [A History of the South, Volume I.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1949. Pp. xv, 451. \$6.00.)

THIS scholarly volume forms an appropriate introduction to a projected ten-volume series covering the history of the South. As would be expected of a work concerned mainly with the laying of foundations, a great deal of space is devoted to European—mainly British—background. The author, having previously published an excellent treatise on the Virginia Company, is perfectly at home in this field, and he has traversed it with easy freedom. The American side of early colonial development is also given, although without the fullness of detail that characterizes some of the other accounts of this period. While the author furnishes a number of fresh and original interpretations, his conclusions in the main are not markedly different from those of other late authorities on colonial history. He accepts Dr. Wertenbaker's position as to the Cavalier tradition but soothes the pride of the Virginians by stating that their ancestors (many of them) were "gentlemen who in every way met the test of a Cavalier." The author's view as to the origin of slavery in the British colonies is a modification of the position taken by J. C. Ballagh and John H. Russell. Relying on data furnished by Miss Susie M. Ames in her *Studies of the Virginia Eastern Shore*, he properly casts doubt on Ballagh's contention that black servitude preceded slavery. He attaches great significance to Indian troubles as a cause of Bacon's Rebellion, representing them as the reagent which precipitated discontent growing out of grievances of long standing. Governor Berkeley, although blamed for his part in this tragedy, receives more charitable treatment than is generally accorded him by historians.

There is ground for disagreement as to the perspective of the work. In the opinion of this reviewer, too much space is devoted to the London Company, the Carolina proprietors, and other phases of the English background. In places, the narrative on these topics is so detailed as to border on tediousness. On the other hand, not enough is said about the revolution of 1688 in England and other events in English history. Furthermore, some events that took place in the colonies and that have an important bearing on colonial development are treated too sketchily. Local political institutions are fully discussed, but more attention could well have been paid to economic and religious conditions and daily life. However, by 1689 life in the colonies had not settled into a fixed pattern and this may account for omissions in the treatment of these subjects. The author's plan seems to have been



to discuss broad developments and avoid details which might lead "into a confusing chronicle of petty politics and protest." In so doing, however, he takes too much for granted. For example, he refers to the Board of Trade, the Culpeper-Arlington patent of 1673, and the Northern Neck without explaining these terms with sufficient fullness to make them clearly understandable to the general reader. In this way generalizations are based on assumptions as to the information of the reader which are not borne out by my experience with either the laity or college men and women.

The book is a scholarly work of real merit. Numerous footnotes and the lengthy critical notes on bibliography show that an exhaustive study has been made of both primary and secondary authorities. The volume is attractive both as to print and cover, and apparently there are no typographical errors or misstatements of fact. There is, however, one statement (p. 322) that might easily be construed as a factual inaccuracy. Sir George Carteret is represented as being "known chiefly for his defense of the Jerseys." The author doubtless had in mind the Island of Jersey in the English Channel, but the average reader will probably take it to mean New Jersey, since colonial New Jersey is often spoken of as the Jerseys. The style is straightforward and clear and in places is adorned with colorful expressions. This excellent discussion of colonial foundations will prove of great value to the special student of early American history.

*West Virginia University*

OLIVER P. CHITWOOD

THE LOST WORLD OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. By *Daniel J. Boorstin*. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1948. Pp. xii, 306. \$4.00.)

To forestall misconceptions, it ought to be explained that the "world" referred to in the title is ideological and not geographical. The book's aim is to discover the dominant spirit of the Jeffersonian view of the world—not the political and social programs of Jefferson's day, nor the ideas of Jefferson alone, but the atmosphere of Jeffersonian ideas. This is not history but the history of ideas; it is not an attempt to isolate the threads of Jeffersonianism but rather to see its texture.

Mr. Boorstin poses the question, how did thinking men of Jefferson's day, and Jefferson himself, handle certain problems of existence? What were their attitudes toward God, man, nature, and society, and what were their concepts of the relationship between them? To reconstruct the temper of late eighteenth century thought, he chooses to study Jefferson and a small group of men who were more or less associated with him and whose ideas were mutually congenial. These men, all of them leaders in religious, social, scientific, and political thought, gave direction to the intellectual drift of the times and expressed them best. Therefore, in the author's opinion, the study of the principles they held in common should provide the most satisfactory window through which to view the thought of the times.

As explicators of the "lost world" of the eighteenth century, Mr. Boorstin

chooses seven representative men who were, with one exception, members of the American Philosophical Society, the main institution through which contemporary thinkers channeled their ideas. Franklin, the society's first president, was a compendium of eighteenth century knowledge himself and certainly one of the most catholic and energetically observing minds the age produced. David Rittenhouse, Franklin's successor and Jefferson's close friend, was noted for his astronomical researches as well as for his revolutionary activities. Dr. Benjamin Rush, chemist, physician, reformer, and politician, was nearly as versatile as Franklin. Joseph Priestley, the English chemist and nonconformist minister, was in Jefferson's estimation unexcelled for service "in religion, in politics, in physics." Benjamin Smith Barton, vice-president of the society, was well known as a botanist, ichthyologist, and anthropologist. Tom Paine, not a member of the society but a contributor, lacked the profundity of the others but served as perhaps its best publicist. Charles Willson Peale, artist and musician, was the showman of the group, holding the curatorship of the society's museum collection. Jefferson himself, according to Mr. Boorstin, was the "human magnet who drew them together." A man of tremendous intellectual range and a philosopher of parts, he demanded always to know the implications of the society's findings and speculations, giving order and meaning to their discrete investigations.

Reacting to the challenge of creating a new nation and a new culture in a new land, these men erected a structure of thought and a distinctive way of looking at life and the world called Jeffersonianism. They conceived of the Deity as a Supreme Architect who created a complex, efficient, perfect world and made man a free, rational, intelligent being to inhabit it. They could see no reason why that world could not be fully discovered, nor why the society evolved by man and patterned after the perfection of nature should not be as intelligently planned and ordered as the universe created by the Great Workman. The Creator they constructed in their own image, embodying in Him their highest aspirations for themselves. On this basis they lived and founded a nation. This is the "lost world" of Thomas Jefferson and his times, lost because interposed between us and it is more than a century of flux and change, of Darwin, Marx, Freud, Emerson, war, industrialism, and materialism.

Mr. Boorstin's approach to the problem of recreating an intellectual environment by means of analyzing the ideas of a selected group is undoubtedly a fruitful one, and of interest to the historian of ideas. He has collected and correlated a great deal of evidence, though manuscript collections and correspondence seem to have been consulted only casually. However, several things ought to be noted. In the first place, the so-called Jeffersonian circle was probably not so unified as the author assumes. Jefferson's concepts were constantly changing, and there were admitted differences of opinion between him and other members of the society on matters scientific, philosophical, religious, and political. Neither Jefferson's ideas nor those of his "circle" were fixed, and organizing them into a pattern is likely to

produce a variety of doctrinaire Jeffersonianism that probably did not exist. Nor is it reasonable to presume that Jefferson's presence in the group was a necessary binding factor; Barton, Rush, Priestley, and the rest no doubt would have found order and meaning in their work without the Virginian as receptor or catalyst. He may have provided a sort of focus for the speculations of those who knew him and respected him, but at the same time the age of reason was marked by a certain unity of viewpoint common to the times and not necessarily characteristic of any chosen group. And, for an over-all view of late eighteenth century thought, it might have been well to include in the circle men such as Madison and Adams, both of whom frequently energized Jeffersonian political theory and helped to crystallize it.

Nevertheless, Mr. Boorstin's book is a valuable study of eighteenth century thought in most of its contexts. His method of approach is fresh and original, one that might well be applied with modifications to other periods.

*Michigan State College*

RUSSEL B. NYE

FATHER KNICKERBOCKER REBELS: NEW YORK CITY DURING THE REVOLUTION. By *Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1948. Pp. xv, 308. \$4.50.)

IN this volume Mr. Wertenbaker has chosen to tread the well-worn path frequently traversed from Thomas Jones's day to our own. In reviewing the history of the two New Yorks—Revolutionary and Loyalist—in the tense years 1765–83, he has written a lively study and given us some new insights into the period, derived from a study of the Clinton and Gage papers at the Clements Library, the Carleton papers at Colonial Williamsburg, and the William Smith diary in the possession of the New York Public Library.

In scope and organization Mr. Wertenbaker's book rather closely parallels a similar venture by Professor Wilbur C. Abbott issued by the same publishing firm some twenty years ago. The Abbott study is somewhat more detailed on pre-Revolutionary events; the Wertenbaker book more deeply involved in the story of the British occupation. As both writers pursue a chronological course and lean rather heavily on that great primary source, Stokes's *Iconography*, the treatments have numerous points of similarity. Both, for example, elaborate upon the bit of "comedy" which marked the raising of the American flag over the last town to be yielded by the British—the greasing of the flagpole over Fort George by some fun-loving, if perverse, redcoat. Both conclude their studies by gratuitously speculating on what ideas could or could not have been in the minds of the chief actors in the drama of Washington's triumphal return to the city. In addition, Mr. Wertenbaker is obviously indebted at a number of points to the very useful monographic study of Oscar T. Barck, *New York City, 1776–1783*.

Mr. Wertenbaker's examination of the pertinent primary sources does not ap-

pear to have been very systematic. Numerous important materials for the history of the city during the war years were not utilized in this book, notably the published Pattison letters, the Admiral Rodney letterbook, the diaries of Archibald Robertson of the Royal Engineers, and printed orderly books of Major General William Heath and of other participants in the military campaigns in the vicinity of the city. The references to the treatment of American prisoners of war by the British would have been materially enriched by a use of the unpublished papers of Elias Boudinot as commissary general. Among major manuscript sources for New York in the Revolution which do not appear to have been exploited in this study are the Reed, Duane, Stirling, Schuyler, and Gates collections—all in New York manuscript repositories. While considerable space is devoted to the André-Arnold episode, espionage within New York City is barely mentioned. Robert Townsend, who remained in the city from the beginning of the war until after its close, never appears in these pages. Nor does Abraham Woodhull, despite the ingenious detective work of Morton Pennypacker.

The vignettes of leading personalities are uneven in depth and perspicacity. The handling of Clinton is devastating but just. William Smith perhaps best epitomized that military failure as "in short, a trifle." But the treatment of the Loyalists and their motivations is one-dimensional. One would hardly suspect that Isaac Low, William Smith, and James De Lancey were at one time or another in their political careers denounced for their liberalism.

While, then, Mr. Wertenbaker has provided us with a more engrossing evocation of the era than previous hands have succeeded in creating, it is a source of some disappointment that a scholar with his command of the subject did not probe deeper and produce a more definitive study.

*Columbia University*

RICHARD B. MORRIS

CONNECTICUT'S YEARS OF CONTROVERSY, 1750-1776. By *Oscar Zeichner*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, 1949. Pp. xiv, 404. \$6.00.)

*Connecticut's Years of Controversy, 1750-1776* is by far the best account that has been published relating to the progress of the revolutionary movement in the "colony of steady habits." In thirteen chapters supported by elaborate footnotes the history of various controversies is related with emphasis upon such issues as religion, western expansion, and imperial connections. Thus, the impact on the freemen of the growth throughout the colony of religious heterodoxy and of the rise of Anglicanism, particularly in western Connecticut, is stressed, as is that of the activities of the Susquehanna Company in seeking to appropriate the northern part of Pennsylvania. Intertwined with controversies over these issues and merging finally as the most controversial of them all is the issue involving the relations of Connecticut under the charter of 1662 with the government of Great Britain.

In fact, nowhere else can one find such ample illustration of the conflicting reactions of various Connecticut groups during the years under consideration to contemporary social and political developments. By the lavish use of quotation, Dr. Zeichner has in reality produced a book of sources. So predominant is this interesting feature and so modest are the author's efforts to inject into the text his own interpretation of the events of this period that the book could perhaps more accurately carry the title "Connecticut's Years of Controversy, 1750-1776, as Viewed by Contemporaries."

There are both advantages and disadvantages in writing history in the above manner. On the one hand, the author relieves himself of a heavy responsibility; he is, moreover, less open to criticism on the part of the critic, provided that he is reasonably careful in the reproductions of his sources; further, he is able to give to his work a rich contemporary flavor. On the other hand, the writer of history that is to be of the most permanent value can hardly avoid the responsibility of making clear the strength or weakness of the positions assumed by groups or individuals whose activities are under scrutiny; he must therefore be prepared to lay himself open to criticism in setting forth his own matured interpretations of the issues with which he is concerned; and, in doing so, he must keep in mind the fact that if he permits himself to quote excessively he runs the risk of satiating the reader and depriving himself of the opportunity offered of high literary achievement—something that should be one of the goals of every writer of history.

The volume under review, it should be made clear, is concerned primarily with the history of controversy *within* Connecticut between Connecticut groups during the twenty-five years preceding the Declaration of Independence. Therefore, while we learn that the Anglicans were so increasing in numbers as to desire a bishop—to the horror of the ministers of the Congregational establishment—we are not told what was the attitude of the British authorities to such an innovation and whether or not they were concerned in the controversy. While we are given the mutually irreconcilable views of Connecticut leaders in public life respecting the Susquehanna Company venture, we look in vain for a rounded history of the same. While we are presented with the sharp divisions of public opinion within the colony over such measures of Parliament as the Stamp Act and the Townshend Acts, we are left quite in the dark why it was that these statutes were passed. We also find that there were hard times in Connecticut, after its war boom days preceding the Peace of Paris of 1763, that brought much complaint, but we are left in ignorance of the fact that while the people of the colony were blaming the mother country for their plight, the workers of Great Britain were caught in a much more serious postwar depression. Moreover, other facts of fundamental importance are passed over that are necessary for an understanding of this period—for example, the strange situation presented when popular Connecticut leaders were bitterly denouncing the government of Great Britain during the Stamp Act crisis for placing insupportable burdens upon them. This was true

in spite of the fact that the colony had been so liberally reimbursed for its war expenses by Parliament that for a period of four years, from 1765 to 1769, it was not necessary to collect taxes to run the provincial government, the expenses of which were met by the ample funds shrewdly invested in England. Nevertheless, accepting the narrow limits imposed by the author in the writing of this history, we have in *Connecticut's Years of Controversy, 1750-1776* an interesting and as already pointed out, a very valuable record of the attitudes of Connecticut people toward the issues of these crucial years.

*Lehigh University*

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON

THE WESTERN RESERVE: THE STORY OF NEW CONNECTICUT IN OHIO. By *Harlan Hatcher*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1949. Pp. 365. \$4.00.)

ALL history may be a unit, but it is usually written in pieces. More good histories of states and sections of states are needed as preliminary to a sound revision of the history of the larger units. Mr. Hatcher has found in the Western Reserve a section that, fortunately for his purpose, has marked inherent unity, even though, in treating it as such, he almost necessarily severs some vital arteries that connect it with its larger environment.

The work consists of three types of chapters: narratives in which different kinds of activity are woven into a single story; essays more or less complete in themselves on important movements; and descriptive chapters, tableaux, or cross-sectional views of what might be called the life of the people. Thus the first six chapters contain the narrative of the origins of Connecticut's claim to the region, the granting of the firelands, sale of the eastern part to a company, surveys and resale of lots by the company. Chapters seven and eight are descriptive of the process and problems of settlement illustrated by experiences of specific individuals. Chapters ten to fifteen are essays on: the methods of an agent of the company in helping settlers pay off their mortgages, the digging of the canals, building of the railroads, building of highways, establishing of steamship lines on the lake, experimenting with banking systems, and the coming of the Mormons to one of the centers. Then follow two more descriptive chapters on the life of the people in the decade preceding the Civil War; three more essays, one on the emergence of Cleveland, one on the development of oil, and one on the beginnings of the steel industry; and three rather short descriptive chapters on the industrialization of the towns and the addition of new population elements.

The inseparable relationship existing between a number of the important movements in the reserve, such as the building of its railroads and canals, their experimenting with banking, and their experiences with periods of depression, to similar movements in the rest of Ohio and the country as a whole, must be

considered by the reader as implied rather than expressed. This is the result, in part, of the fact that the history is strictly sectional.

The book is replete with useful information but one might wish that some things might have been included or emphasized, even if at the cost of abbreviating some others. One might wish, for example, that more space had been devoted to the history of the Congregational church than to the Mormons, even though the latter did afford the basis for a most interesting story well told. The maps of the Reserve, reproductions of originals, indicate the rivers and important settlements, the townships, and the three larger subdivisions. There is no map indicating railroads and canals. The footnotes are not extensive. The index is adequate. The book is a good, honest piece of work and quite readable.

*Indiana University*

ALBERT L. KOHLMEIER

THE LIFE OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON. By *Ralph L. Rusk*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1949. Pp. ix, 592. \$6.00.)

INNUMERABLE pieces of fresh evidence, a judiciously balanced interpretation, and a readable style make Mr. Rusk's book the definitive biography of Emerson if one shares "the biographer's dream of re-creating an entire man, much as a novelist or dramatist of insight and imagination creates a character." Mr. Rusk has by no means neglected Emerson's ideas, but he is more interested in the man as a personality, sketched against his time and place and in relation to the many other leading personalities he met on his travels. The biographer avoids any one easy formula and proceeds inductively as if he were tracing the course of a great river which gathers force as it is fed by successive tributaries and as it turns and twists its way to the sea to avoid insuperable obstacles. Instead of the logical articulation of ideas in a vacuum, Mr. Rusk's scrupulous method provides constant orientation in terms of the interaction of Emerson's peculiar personality and the peculiar sequence of his reading, the events and needs of the time, and the stimulation of the people he met. Social historians and political scientists will find a great many "leads" to fresh materials relevant to their special interests, although those who expect to use the book only for reference should remember Mr. Rusk's remark that his otherwise admirable index is "not an index of the [forty-two double-column] notes and without any page-reference to them." The notes often contain valuable information and suggestions of sources.

In general Mr. Rusk adheres unostentatiously to his nonpartisan "rôle of disinterested observer," although he does admit "putting a high value on Emerson as an individualist struggling, though never with entire success, to keep his little area of personal freedom safe from encroachment." The book is too detailed and meaty for any sort of summary, but a few of the findings can be suggested briefly. Emerson was much more deeply stirred by the courtship and death of his first wife, Ellen Tucker, than we had known before. Much new evidence shows



the important role of his argumentative and Calvinistic Aunt Mary in stimulating Emerson to think for himself as he entered upon his tremendous course of reading from the Scottish philosophers (who helped him to revolt from Locke), to Coleridge, Carlyle, the Germans, Plato, and countless others. Mr. Rusk finds that Emerson's debt to the German thinkers tended to decrease until he was merely bored by Hegel, while his debt to "intuitive Oriental philosophies grew" (p. 371). Emerson came out publicly against Jackson in 1831, and up to 1861 he favored disunion if slavery could not otherwise be eliminated from governmental support; although he was slower than Whittier to embrace abolition and hostility toward the South, he at first favored a harsh Reconstruction policy. Mr. Rusk has made careful use of Emerson's account books from his days of early and extreme poverty until he had about \$27,500 in 1874; the statistics serve as an illustration of the response to his far-ranging lecture tours and to his thrifty but dignified management of his home and way of life. If Emerson seems a bit less Olympian, he becomes more understandable and "human," more interested in social enterprises of many sorts, and more practical.

Since, as Mr. Rusk says, there is "no adequate" bibliography of Emerson's writings or of material about him, and "no edition of either works or journals that approaches completeness," it is to be hoped that some means will be found by which such work can be undertaken—let us hope under Mr. Rusk's direction, and with an over-all index not only to people and places but also to ideas. Granting his conception of a biography, this is certainly superior to any yet written of an American author.

*University of Wisconsin*

HARRY HAYDEN CLARK

LINCOLN'S VANDALIA: A PIONEER PORTRAIT. By *William E. Baringer*.

[A Publication of the Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Illinois.]

(New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1949. Pp. vii, 141. \$2.50.)

IN late November, 1834, state legislator Abraham Lincoln entered Vandalia, then capital of Illinois, a village of some eight hundred souls "atop a flat bluff overlooking the Kaskaskia River." An observer would have noted that the man and the town had much in common—a certain frontier uncouthness, a ramshackle appearance, and a look of incompleteness. On an arbitrarily selected spot in south central Illinois the capital had uncertainly grown; it was, a contemporary remarked, "altogether an experiment." He might have said the same about the new legislator.

*Lincoln's Vandalia*, by Professor W. E. Baringer, is a careful re-examination of the forty-four weeks (scattered over more than four years) of Lincoln's first legislative experience. There was much for Lincoln to learn at Vandalia. Though still a rough frontier town, full of "cursing, swearing, halloing, yelling . . . and fighting," the state capital had social and cultural pretensions. It boasted the state

house, imposing on the outside at least, though the "floor . . . nine inches down at the center, somewhat resembled a modern indoor running track." Vandalia had a lyceum, a literary monthly, and a "social whirl . . . something between brilliant and Boeotian."

It was here that Lincoln first emerged as political leader and party strategist. From his first hesitant motion "to limit the jurisdiction of Justices of the Peace," Professor Baringer details his legislative development. Patience, humor, parliamentary adroitness, personal persuasiveness—even a legible handwriting—were the carefully used assets which by 1837 made Lincoln the recognized legislative leader of the Illinois Whigs.

Lincoln's rise and the collapse of Vandalia were directly connected. The center of Illinois population was moving north, and Sangamon County, which Lincoln and his tall colleagues represented, wanted to remove the capital to Springfield. Stripping aside the verbiage of legislative procedure, Professor Baringer shows that the tactics of the Sangamon delegation were simple: to secure support for removal they promised everybody everything. A costly and economically suicidal system of internal improvements offered the most remote counties a share of the state's money; in return, the Sangamon delegation asked and received votes to transfer the capital. As Governor Thomas Ford sourly observed, "it . . . cost the State about six millions of dollars to remove the seat of government . . . to Springfield, half which sum would have purchased all the real estate in that town at three prices." The success of the Sangamon forces, Professor Baringer believes, should be considered "a great personal triumph for Lincoln."

The decisive vote occurred in 1837, and soon after Vandalia declined. Presently it bore "something of a melancholy appearance of departed greatness." Lincoln, on the other hand, was just commencing his career, and Professor Baringer thinks he gained much from his Vandalia experience—confidence in speaking, clearness in thinking, felicity in style, and "as perhaps his most valuable single lesson, the technique and political value of successful compromise."

Based on exhaustive research and carefully annotated, Dr. Baringer's little book is an authoritative account of a neglected period in Lincoln's biography. Though differing but slightly from Albert J. Beveridge's treatment of this same episode and offering no novel interpretations, *Lincoln's Vandalia* has freshness and wit which, combined with its painstaking accuracy, entitle it to a permanent place in the Lincoln library.

*Smith College*

DAVID DONALD

INDIANA POLITICS DURING THE CIVIL WAR. By *Kenneth M. Stampp*. [Indiana Historical Collections, Volume XXXI.] (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau. 1949. Pp. xiii, 300. \$3.00.)

THE very nature of the American Civil War suggests the need for more

analyses of forces behind the battle lines, and the federal character of the nation indicates the pertinence of studies of individual states as an essential part of such a program. But even in the nearly three decades which have elapsed since Arthur C. Cole's model examination of Illinois during the Civil War era the number of such studies has been all too few. A particular debt accrues, therefore, to Mr. Stampf for his sure-footed guidance through the tangled underbrush of Indiana politics, where formerly we were forced to make use of William D. Foulke's uncritical *Life of Oliver P. Morton*. Perhaps Mr. Stampf's work can best be understood as an implicit rejoinder to Foulke's half-century-old volumes and the assumptions that they represent.

Making only cursory use of other monographs which may cut across his subject, the author relies primarily upon an exhaustive use of Indianapolis archival and manuscript material and of Indiana newspapers. While granting the ability, energy, and financial integrity of Governor Morton and recognizing his substantial contributions to the Union cause, Mr. Stampf also points out his opportunistic attitude toward national issues and his unwillingness to tolerate any but those willing to be his obedient lieutenants. Above all Morton is pictured as turning every patriotic service and sentiment to his personal and party aggrandizement, binding the soldier and veteran vote to his own machine, and burying his Democratic opponents under unmerited charges of disloyalty. Most effective is the author's delineation of the manner in which Morton exposed the activities of the revolutionary Sons of Liberty at just the right moment to contribute heavily to the Democratic defeat in Indiana and elsewhere in the elections of 1864.

Mr. Stampf's performance in reference to the topics he most thoroughly treats is of such a high level as to make one wish that he had employed his analytical abilities with equal emphasis in regard to certain other topics which he rather dismisses in passing. One would like to know whether the stampeding of the Republican (or Union) state convention of 1864 in favor of Lincoln's renomination under Morton's very nose was a part of some wider pattern of an even more effective political leader, Lincoln himself. Manuscript collections in the Library of Congress might offer clues. In view of ties of blood and commerce with the South a more detailed and less *a priori* examination is needed of disloyal sentiments in the state. That the Republicans had reason to exaggerate them does not prove that they did not exist. They need more than the casual attention here accorded them, a fact suggested by the documented narratives of Captains Hines and Castleman, Confederate agents in the region, which are not even listed in the bibliography. And the ability of the Indiana politicians to finesse issues on which votes might be lost, so well brought out in this very volume, suggests that they would avoid amateurish blunders in the direction of over-frankness. Their disclaimers should be subjected to precisely the same critical scrutiny as that directed toward the motivation of their opponents' charges. In the rapidly changing situation of the Civil War years and the wavering margin of Union victory, the willingness of the Democratic

leaders to give not only nominal but effective support is a question of basic importance.

*George Washington University*

WOOD GRAY

THE JOURNALS OF BENJAMIN MORAN, 1857-1865. Edited by *Sarah Agnes Wallace* and *Frances Elma Gillespie*. In two volumes. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1949. Pp. xxxiv, 812; xx, 813-1489. \$25.00 per set.)

For some unknown reason, Benjamin Moran, assistant secretary and secretary at the American legation in London, 1852-1875, kept a private journal of day-by-day events, impressions, and reflections. He found it dull business, still he persisted. This journal grew to forty-one volumes. The contents of the greater part of fourteen of these, covering the years 1857-1865, are printed for the first time in these two carefully edited and excellently produced volumes.

During the long period when Moran was connected with our most important diplomatic mission, events of great significance took place in Anglo-American relations. On the eve of the outbreak of our Civil War, questions pertaining to that age-old issue, the right of search, to the affairs of Central America, and to the western end of the boundary between the United States and British North America stirred up a moderate amount of diplomatic correspondence. New issues of the greatest importance arose, of course, during the war period; and Moran's journal throws some new light, though not as much as might be expected, on diplomatic negotiations in the prewar and war years.

Many other topics besides those belonging to the realm of high politics are touched upon by the indefatigable Moran. He discloses activities of American promoters who were eagerly seeking British and European capital for their enterprises. He relates how he was pestered with inquiries concerning American claims to property in Great Britain—the Drake estate case of recent memory had many predecessors. An astonishingly large number of genuine and bogus American citizens called on the legation for passports or aid of various sorts. And scores of visitors were eager for presentation at the British court or to get a glimpse of the royal family. Hundreds of names are given by Moran, and many of these individuals are mentioned in unflattering terms.

For most of the years covered by his journal, Moran practically single-handed performed a vast variety of clerical services at the legation. He was diligent and conscientious; but he had an edgy temper, was not very intelligent, and was constantly troubled by real or fancied social slights. His attitude toward the British shows a curious blend of toadyism and truculence. He was exceedingly eager to meet members of the aristocracy and to attend court functions; and he complains bitterly of not being given the social opportunities to which he felt entitled. On the other hand he sneers constantly at the English, though admitting that some

of the English women were beautiful, and once he refers to the queen's husband as "that poor idiot Prince Albert" (I, 695).

Nor is he satisfied with Americans. Pompous, ignorant, stupid, ill-bred, and other choice adjectives abound in his descriptions of American callers at the legation. About the family of Minister Dallas, under whom he served, 1857-1861, he writes, "A more heartless, selfish, cold-blooded and unprincipled set I never knew" (I, 812). Moran was a frustrated man with bitter dislikes. He did not enjoy the confidence of his superiors; and he was not admitted to the high society of London. His judgment was poor. In some ways he was a humbug. Much of what he recorded in his journal is mere twaddle—height, color of hair, and shape of head of visitors, complaints of neglect. Still the journal has considerable value for diplomatic, economic, and social history. Some of his descriptions of court functions are well done. The sidelight thrown on diplomatic practices and methods merits attention. Both he and Dallas went to considerable lengths in aiding American promoters. Moran blandly admits that Cyrus W. Field had promised him £200 for urging Dallas "on to get the grant from this [the British] Gov't" for the Atlantic cable (I, 390), and he asserts that Dallas had been promised considerable sums of money (twenty-five to fifty thousand dollars are mentioned) for aiding Samuel Halett to obtain British financial backing for the Atlantic and Great Western Railroad (I, 256, 264, 273). Moran does not disclose what methods were employed by the American legation in London during the Civil War to collect needed information; but he records that the American minister in Brussels, Sanford, had been given one million dollars for use in Britain (II, 907-908).

The preface to Volume I, written by Miss Wallace, gives an excellent sketch of Moran's life. Miss Gillespie wrote admirable introductions for both volumes, her last contributions to history.

*University of Wisconsin*

PAUL KNAPLUND

#### THE CHEYENNE AND BLACK HILLS STAGE AND EXPRESS ROUTES.

By *Agnes Wright Spring*, former State Librarian and State Historian of Wyoming. [American Trail Series, VI.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1949. Pp. 418. \$7.50.)

MUCH has been written and published in regard to the gold rush to the region of the Black Hills during the decade from about 1874 to 1884. This volume, however, is the first to give more than incidental attention to the Cheyenne gateway and the development of transportation facilities from that point to the various centers of mining activity in southwestern South Dakota and northeastern Wyoming. The story that is unfolded has the full flavor of the "Wild West" in its most colorful aspects.

The first chapters deal with the first rumors and the verified reports of gold in the Black Hills; the efforts of the military to keep frenzied, determined miners

*Dorfman: The Economic Mind in American Civilization* 387

out of the region until the Indian title could be extinguished; the first stage and freight lines; and general aspects of life in Cheyenne, "Magic City of the Plains," at the time when the gold excitement struck the town. The main portion of the book, however, is devoted to the story of stagecoach and wagon freight lines from Cheyenne by various routes to Deadwood and other points in the mining area from 1876 to 1887. Early in 1876 the firm of Gilmer, Salisbury, and Patrick bought the stage and express line and operated it, under the superintendency of Luke Voorhees, until they sold it in 1883 to Russell Thorp, who in turn operated it until the last Black Hills stagecoach pulled out of Cheyenne in February, 1887.

The author presents a comprehensive and detailed account of all aspects of the stagecoach and freighting business: the Concord coaches themselves, the characteristics of the drivers, the passengers, the supplies transported, the treasure boxes for the protection of the gold, the stopping places along the routes and their keepers. The vicissitudes encountered, such as extremely cold weather and blizzards, floods and muddy roads, and attacks by Indians, are described. Special attention is given to the activities of the road agents or bandits who held up the stages and robbed passengers, strong boxes, and the mails, and killed drivers and guards to an extent not exceeded in any other period or region in the Far West. Even the armored coach known as "The Monitor," with its supposedly impregnable strong box, was successfully attacked and robbed. There is frequent mention of the notorious Calamity Jane, and of another, though less well-known frontier "gun-moll" usually called Lurline Monte Verdi.

There are appendixes containing brief sketches of the owners and numerous employees of the Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage Company, descriptions of a number of old stagecoaches still in existence, and the diary of George V. Ayers. There are also seventeen plates consisting of photographs of persons, stagecoaches, freighters, and stations along the stage routes.

The author has been diligent in research, has had access to important source materials, writes in an interesting, sprightly style, and has made a worthy contribution to the history of a dramatic phase of western history.

*University of Oregon*

DAN E. CLARK

THE ECONOMIC MIND IN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION. By *Joseph Dorfman*. Volume III, 1865-1918. (New York: Viking Press. 1949. Pp. xiv, 494, lxxvii. \$6.00.)

By many signs the present next-to-last volume will be the most informing of Joseph Dorfman's huge treatise. Here he moves away from the dominating commercial and agrarian background of America's first and second centuries, and from the slowly gathering streams of economic thinking, and gets into the rapids of thought and reaction to advanced industrialism. The centuries-old spirit of commerce, Dorfman begins by repeating, had gradually leached away the bindings of

the hierarchical order of society which colonial commerce itself had transferred from Europe to America. After the Civil War, doctrines of equality, conveniently more matured in other areas than economic thought, took root in the economic field. So did many other doctrines and influences, domestic and foreign (though Dorfman makes little of the recently much-mentioned Social Darwinism or Spencerianism), practical and theoretical, conformable and disparate among one another. The academic profession of economics arose; economic awarenesses increased among the working classes; the public issues of 1880-1915, and then the administrative needs of World War I, forced government into economics, and compelled economic fact-finding and rationalization in many places. All this is Dorfman's grist, and one doubts that he will have equal milling to do in the area he contemplates for his final volume, from 1918 to 1941.

So broad a survey much more nearly than the earlier volumes justifies the title, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization*. Those who contend that a businessman's civilization should be approached through the thought patterns of businessmen will find little support, however, in this volume. Tycoons, and statesmen too, are conspicuously absent from Dorfman's pages. The author nowhere consolidates his judgments of leadership, but from his individual estimates I think that he regards one amateur and five professionals—Henry George, F. A. Walker, J. B. Clark, J. R. Commons, Thorstein Veblen, and W. C. Mitchell—as the most important economic thinkers of the half-century. The half-dozen suggest the intellectual inclusions of Dorfman's story: economics thought out within, and also breaking the bonds of, the Adam Smith tradition; the American nationalistic and humanitarian streams; the new utilization of statistics and mathematical procedures, and the new enthusiasm for history, following leads from Europe; the assimilating of the concepts of marginalism; interesting occasional levies by economists on psychology and sociology; and the gains made when economics writers had heart or brain for social conscience, ironic perception, or distinguished writing.

These matters are complicated, and Dorfman's commitment to completeness makes them no simpler. As in the earlier volumes his method begins with large chronological headings, not very interesting indeed, such as "The 'Heartbreaking' Nineties" and "The Promise of the New Century"; under them he divides his space, almost two to one, into chapters of biography (mostly multiple biography, up to seven men in a chapter) and summary of economic writings, and chapters of introduction and explication. I am able to take familiar soundings on only the eight-page essay on Henry George, but I believe it to be a representative sample. The treatment is neutral and fair: it is pointed up by the acute use of a George letter in the D. A. Wells manuscripts, and by reference to little-known writers with ideas like George's own; on the other hand, Dorfman has barely touched the George manuscripts, and he embalms the old notion that George's thought "had its origin in two experiences"—those thrice-told events in New York and Oakland. Everywhere the sharp and the flat occur together in this volume.



From a literary and perhaps a structural point of view, Dorfman has undertaken a well-nigh impossible task. Three quarters of a century ago Sir Leslie Stephen based his brilliant *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* on the same method of summarization and comment, but the writings he treated were more general and less often technical, and his lively comment from a point of view illuminated every line. By Sir Leslie's standard, Dorfman is reticent, an encyclopedist more than a historian. No other scholar in this decade's outflow of surveys in the history of American thought has relied half so much on summarization, or achieved such compendiousness. Dorfman's grateful accomplishments are the discovery of the forgotten—see his sections on H. C. Adams and C. S. Walker—and encyclopedism where encyclopedism is needed. His generous though lopsided feats place him in the select company of five or six who have recently opened a whole field of our national and international existence.

*Johns Hopkins University*

CHARLES A. BARKER

OIL! TITAN OF THE SOUTHWEST. By *Carl Coke Rister*, Research Professor of American History, University of Oklahoma. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1949. Pp. xxiii, 467. \$5.00.)

FROM the Southwest—Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Arkansas, Louisiana, and New Mexico—"has come almost two-thirds of our total oil production." A history of the petroleum industry in this region was obviously needed. C. A. Warner's detailed, chronological, and geological *Texas Oil and Gas since 1543*, primarily a reference work, is restricted to a single state and lacks documentation; Gerald Forbes's clear and well-written *Flush Production* covers the Gulf Southwest but is topical rather than historical; Boyce House's boom-town volumes are colorful and anecdotal, but little more.

The theme of the present volume, the product of four years of research and writing, assisted by a grant from Standard Oil (New Jersey), is "the search for and the development of oil resources"—development meaning principally the extraction of the oil from the ground. Transportation, marketing, and refining of the crude are, consequently, treated rather incidentally. Prices and profits receive little attention, and retail sales and industrial relations are disregarded. But, although basically a chronological treatment of the principal oil fields and areas of this region, particularly during their flush periods, it includes general chapters on oil in World Wars I and II, conservation and control, technical developments, and economic and social impacts.

Few errors appear, apart from the inevitable misspellings or misprints, usually of proper names: "Patillo" for Pattillo; "Hollis Reavis" for Holland S. Reavis; "Weiss" for Wiess; "Duessen" for Deussen; "plant table" instead of plane table; etc. Two court decisions, of February 18 and December 12, 1932, seem, however, to have been telescoped (p. 321), and the same fate has befallen a Humble vice-

president and secretary treasurer (p. 104, n. 25). "Dry-hole money" is so called not because wild-cat wells are usually dry but because the money is due only if the well *is* dry. "Allowable" is not always—or, indeed, usually—based solely on well-potential. The glossary and index omit a good many obvious items.

Although the title suggests a popular approach, the figure-packed detail of the text indicates that its greatest appeal will be as a reference work in the field of petroleum production. The notes, which are actually *footnotes*, include useful brief biographies and company histories. Tables of crude-oil production, a map, a selected and classified bibliography, and over seventy illustrations of discovery wells, oilfields, communities "before and after," refineries, etc., extend the value of the volume. It is a handsome addition to the growing historical literature of the petroleum industry.

*Houston, Texas*

KENNETH WIGGINS PORTER

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA, 1887-1896: THE RECTORSHIP OF JOHN J. KEANE. By *Patrick Henry Ahern*. THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA, 1896-1903: THE RECTORSHIP OF THOMAS J. CONATY. By *Peter E. Hogan*, S.S.J. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1948, 1949. Pp. xi, 220; xi, 212. \$3.00 each.)

THE Catholic University of America, which opened its doors to students in 1889, some twenty-five years after its establishment was first proposed, has from its inception been a joint responsibility of the entire Roman Catholic hierarchy of this country. In this respect it is unique among the numerous American Catholic institutions of higher learning. For this reason its development was and is intimately related to the changing role of the church in American life. The normal vicissitudes attending the formation and growth of a major university were from time to time further complicated by differences of opinions and interests among those responsible for its supervision and direction. All this is another way of saying that the history of the university mirrors in miniature the internal history of the Catholic Church in the United States.

These two volumes are in no sense laudatory essays on the administrations of Rectors Keane and Conaty. They are rather competent studies of the university itself and of its relationships to the church and to the country at large during the early years of its existence. They are derived for the most part from rich and hitherto unused and unavailable archival sources. They provide in many instances the first authoritative information concerning matters of fairly recent moment in the development of the Catholic Church in the United States. The two volumes are replete with documented facts concerning varied Catholic attitudes on such controversial matters as the relationship between public and parochial schools, the assimilation of immigrant peoples, and the "Americanization" of the church. They are objective in approach, and do not gloss over those inevitable unpleasant

incidents knowledge of which is necessary to any accurate evaluation of men, events, and movements. The two books are not a history of the American Catholic Church between 1887 and 1903, yet the materials they provide are essential to an understanding of that history. It might be remarked here that such facts are not unimportant in any general account of events in the United States for the same period. That the interaction of secular and ecclesiastical politics has received but casual attention from historians is due largely to the unavailability of source materials. Volumes such as these help to fill previous gaps, particularly since their emphasis is factual rather than interpretive.

These works were originally dissertations presented for the master's degree at Catholic University. They are exceptional examples of such academic exercises. They are chronologically complementary studies and, because of evenness of treatment, uniformity of quality, and general readability, might well be companion volumes by a single author. A large portion of credit for this result no doubt belongs to Dr. John Tracy Ellis, professor of American church history at the Catholic University and editor of the *Catholic Historical Review*, under whose able direction they were undertaken and completed.

*Hunter College*

JOHN J. MENG

ELEVEN GENERALS: STUDIES IN AMERICAN COMMAND. By *Fletcher Pratt*. (New York: William Sloane Associates. 1949. Pp. xviii, 355. \$5.00.)

THIS is an interesting study of eleven American generals: Nathanael Greene, Anthony Wayne, Jacob Brown, Richard Mentor Johnson, John Buford, Philip H. Sheridan, George H. Thomas, James Harrison Wilson, Charles P. Summerral, A. A. Vandegrift, and Omar Bradley. There were a number of reasons why Mr. Pratt, one of the most gifted of professional writers working in the military field, chose this group of American soldiers for study. They were all aggressive. Despite a strong strain of amateurism in some of them, they were for the most part widely read in the literature of war. Finally, they all based their hopes of victory on the fire power of attacking infantry.

Mr. Pratt believes in the American military tradition that wars are ultimately won through the aimed fire of individual foot soldiers. This would seem to be borne out by the careers of most of the soldiers on his list. But does it hold for Summerral and Bradley? A considerable portion of Mr. Pratt's chapter on Summerral deals with the meticulous care with which he prepared the artillery phases of his battles in World War I. General Bradley's unique effectiveness as a corps and army group commander lay in the logistical skill with which he moved large forces from one front to another. In fact the author gives an excellent account of the operation in which he moved the United States Second Corps northward behind the British front in Tunisia for the advance toward Mateur. He also deals

effectively with the assembling and launching of the breakthrough forces for "Operation Cobra" at St. Lô.

Interrogations conducted by United States Army historical teams in Europe and the Pacific show pretty clearly that few front-line infantrymen in World War II ever fired their rifles in the direction of the enemy to say nothing about laying down an aimed fire. These facts are set forth in Colonel S. L. A. Marshall's *Men against Fire* (Washington, 1947). In earlier figures on his list Mr. Pratt finds the most rewarding material to support his thesis. This is particularly true of Buford, Sheridan, and Wilson, Civil War commanders who revolutionized the employment of cavalry by using horses as a means of conveying small arms fire rapidly to the desired position.

Whether the United States wins its wars through the aimed fire of individual foot soldiers or through the exceptional logistical and engineering performance of American forces is a question worth raising. It might be possible to write another study of American command illustrating the success attained in war by our ability to bridge streams, to move masses of men and supplies from one distant point to another quickly, to lay down crushing and accurate artillery fire on targets, and to achieve other engineering feats. In fact, one would like very much to see Mr. Pratt undertake such a study.

In some respects the foreword, written for the benefit of professional writers, is the most rewarding section of this book. It includes a long overdue tribute to one of the most modest and scholarly men in the United States Army, Colonel Joseph I. Greene, editor of the *Infantry Journal*, who encouraged Mr. Pratt in undertaking these studies and who has inspired many other students of military affairs.

*University of Missouri*

H. A. DEWEERD

THE EAGLE IN THE EGG: THE STORY OF THE COMING OF AGE OF MILITARY AIR TRANSPORT. By *Oliver La Farge*, Lieutenant Colonel, Air Force Reserve. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1949. Pp. xiii, 320. \$3.50.)

THIS is the story of the wartime logistical service known as the Air Transport Command. Oliver La Farge writes with authority, for he was associated with the command from 1942 until well after the war had ended. He came to it as a civilian with the primary function of writing a history of its activities; he was later commissioned and served as historical officer throughout the remainder of his military service.

In *The Eagle in the Egg* Oliver La Farge traces the story of ATC from the spring day in 1941 when Colonel Robert Olds told his secretary, "Jennie, we have a job to do," until the command began its program of readjustment to the post-war situation well after the close of hostilities. The command was created on May

28, 1941, to facilitate the delivery to the British government of planes purchased from American manufacturers. That puny organization, known first as the Air Corps Ferrying Command, and after the summer of 1942 as the Air Transport Command, soon edged its way into the business of transporting essential supplies and personnel. In its ultimate form it was a world-wide military organization, largely staffed by civilians in uniform, which operated a mighty plane-ferrying service, carried hundreds of thousands of passengers, and hauled millions of tons of vitally needed military supplies. It controlled thousands of military transport aircraft, and, through contract with civilian airlines, hundreds of the best transports that civil aviation in this country had produced, as well as the civilian pilots to fly them and civilian personnel to service them. The Air Transport Command set a new pattern in military organization—an outfit operated on a global basis from the headquarters in Washington as a direct arm of the War Department.

*The Eagle in the Egg* is not definitive history, nor was it intended to be. Throughout, the account savors of a personal document. Oliver La Farge writes feelingly and intimately about the command. He identifies himself so closely with it that he appears to be writing about his own experiences. He is at his best in his descriptions of men and places, and he injects a living quality into his story. In the main the account is straightforward and accurate. Minor errors of fact have crept into the story simply because the author did not, in his final assembly of the narrative, have access to all the wartime files of the command, relying instead upon his own notes and a prodigious memory. But Oliver La Farge has given here a vivid picture of the importance of air transport in the logistics of war. After reading *The Eagle in the Egg* one feels that the record of the Air Transport Command is an excellent one, and that Oliver La Farge has eloquently brought out its glory.

Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR J. LARSEN

THE ARMY AIR FORCES IN WORLD WAR II. Prepared under the Editorship of Wesley Frank Craven and James Lea Cate by the Air Historical Group, United States Air Force. Volume II, EUROPE: TORCH TO POINT-BLANK, AUGUST 1942 TO DECEMBER 1943. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1949. Pp. xxi, 897. \$6.00.)

MILITARY narratives written by men who have participated in the operations under treatment are deservedly suspect by readers attentive to objectivity and exactness. Such writers must doubly prove themselves. The four authors, and their editors, of the second volume of seven planned for the official *The Army Air Forces in World War II*, all of whom saw the events unfold from the inside, have leaned over backward in their diligent efforts to compile a scholarly report of the operations of the AAF in Europe from the middle of 1942 to the end of 1943. They have produced, and the series of which the volume is a part is of the same order, what is almost certainly the most complete work we will ever have on the

subject. Later and better summarizations and interpretations will appear, but it is not likely anyone will attempt to re-do what the authors have done. The series is our history of this branch of the armed services in World War II.

In the period from August, 1942, to December, 1943, the Army Air Forces in the European theater were engaged in two major combat operations: support of the campaigns in North Africa and southern Italy, and assault on the German war machine and its supporting agencies on the Continent. The first operation, the responsibility of the Ninth, Twelfth, and Fifteenth Air Forces, was largely tactical, the second, conducted by the Eighth Air Force in England, mainly strategic. The authors have gone into every phase of these air campaigns, and they have related them to the over-all effort. Set down in elaborate detail are accounts of the ration of a meager supply of air units to the four quarters of the globe; the successful bid of the AF for operational independence; the case for daylight bombardment; the intricacies of command organization and frequent reorganization; the problems of logistics and their solution; target selection; combat operations—planning, tactics, the mission itself, results; supply; maintenance. The reader is made to know what it is like to go on a bombing mission, to understand and perhaps to sympathize with the role of the echelons of paper workers, to wonder at the faith of the air commanders. Assessment of the achievement of air strikes receives conscientious review: for the most part, tactical operations were effective, strategic ineffective. Lessons for present air war planners are numberless: sudden paralysis of a nation by strategic bombardment is a myth; air maneuvers are among the most unpredictable, even unreliable, of all military operations; the mightiest air efforts are sometimes wholly abortive; successful strategic bombing requires return after return to the same target; without long and intensive training for specific assignments air crews are inept; yet, withal, successful ground operations are inordinately costly and slow, if not impossible, until friendly air power gains air superiority over the enemy. The authors hold back no truths; their volume dwells more on failure than on success. The startling inflation of American claims of enemy aircraft destroyed is explored; actual enemy losses in the air were twenty per cent or less of our claims. The writers freely remark on the “incredibly naive report” of the office of AC/AS, Intelligence, on October 18, 1943. The bases and practices of evaluation of combat reports are properly questioned. The importance of the presence of hard-headed, unsentimental skeptics within the circle of top air officers is seen. The account of the Air Forces Antisubmarine Command illuminates the fundamental conflict between the Air Forces and Navy Air. From start to finish the record is impartially given.

But the frustrating history of the AAF in 1943 cannot be viewed as a thing apart—1943 must be judged by the momentous payoff events of 1944. The exceedingly rich sources have been competently tapped by the authors. Seventy-one pages of notes contain a thorough documentation of the text, citing records ranging from the squadron to Roosevelt and Churchill. An appendix lists the Eighth

Air Force heavy bomber missions during the period. There are maps, a glossary of air terms, and a satisfactory index.

*University of California, Berkeley*

W. N. DAVIS, JR.

OKINAWA: THE LAST BATTLE. By Roy E. Appleman, James M. Burns, Russell A. Gugeler, and John Stevens. [United States Army in World War II: The War in the Pacific.] (Washington: Historical Division, Department of the Army. 1948. Pp. xxii, 529. \$6.00.)

THE conquest of Okinawa was the final battle of the Second World War. As such it represents the ultimate development of American techniques of amphibious warfare, as well as of methods employed by the War Department to obtain historical coverage of operations. The first factor gives the campaign much of its interest; the second explains the appearance of the history of the last battle as the first of a projected thirty-two volumes of official operational history.

*Okinawa* is an impressive work, beautifully produced and illustrated, detailed in coverage, clear in style. Although written in a time when public relations between the armed forces were not always smooth, service tensions emerge only in a few incidental phrases, *e.g.*, the reference (p. 62) to United States naval forces as the "Allied fleet." The volume is a credit both to the authors and to the Department of the Army.

The book opens with a balanced approach, conforming to the facts of the approach of our forces to the island. Over-all American planning and the Navy's role in transporting, landing, and protecting the Tenth Army are well described. Coverage of enemy preparations is somewhat less complete: these are well treated on the local level, but there is no mention of the basic "Ten" plan and its reorganization of the Japanese air forces, nor of "Kikusui" operation which planned for their expenditure in large-scale suicide attacks. The extreme weakness of Japan's surface fleet dating from Leyte Gulf is not made clear. The statement (p. 100) that the *Yamato* was sunk before she "ever fired her main batteries" is incorrect.

An essential factor in the writing of military history is an appropriate respect for the enemy, and this the authors have in full measure. The treatment of Japanese resistance is remarkably full. Indeed, General Ushijima seems to carry off the honors of the campaign, his estimates of the situation, of United States plans, and of his own capabilities contrasting favorably with our own. American intelligence appears to have been weak: for a month after landing the unreasonable objectives assigned our troops showed small understanding of the quality of Japanese defenses; imminent Japanese withdrawal was predicted just before their greatest counterattack, and counterattack while withdrawal from the Shuri line was in progress. American tactics appear to have been inflexible, the infantry attacking daily at 0900 following artillery preparation. Night attacks, invariably successful, were never made in strength; the word seems never to have reached the



high command, and the infantryman who observed following a successful surprise that the Japanese "had better hold reveille a little earlier" might well have broadened the application of his statement.

Such frankness regarding unpalatable facts is wholly admirable, especially in an official history. But frankness itself raises problems in a volume so largely narrative in plan. Three officers, relieved of their commands during battle, are mentioned by name. To this reviewer it is not clear that all three reliefs were justified; in fairness, should there not be a firm statement? Similarly, the conclusions regarding intelligence and tactics noted above are inferential rather than explicit. The balancing of narrative and interpretation is never easy, and admittedly the position of the historian in uniform is ambivalent. But history must ultimately render judgments, and it is difficult to feel that later comers will be better qualified to attempt this than are the present authors.

A similar basic question arises regarding the balance in treatment of infantry and other arms. Detailed accounts of infantry action occupy the body of the book; despite a chapter on tactics and another on events behind the lines, much remains unexplained. What kind of control did the Tenth Army exercise over daily operations? How was the communications net organized? Where was the artillery emplaced? How did a commander request artillery fire (or naval gunfire, or air strikes), and how long did he have to wait? How was air support controlled? Who provided it? How good was it? The air question is a fundamental one owing to differing AAF and Navy-Marine doctrine for close support, and it is the foot-soldier's verdict, not the aviator's list of tonnages and sorties, that is meaningful. One may hope that an assessment will be forthcoming elsewhere in the series, perhaps in the Leyte volume where the AAF Evaluation Board report provides a point of departure.

The fifty-four maps are magnificent but again relate principally to infantry action. Would it not be possible in some instances to show the location and lines of fire of artillery and fire-support ships? Why not maps and/or flow charts of the logistic establishment at various stages of the campaign indicating location and capacity of beaches, ports, dumps, and roads? Teamwork by all branches of both services was the keynote of Central Pacific warfare; in its immense complexity it has never been well explained to the public, and if it is not done in this history it probably never will be. The "value to the thoughtful citizen," mentioned as a major purpose of the series, makes the need for explanation and analysis the more vital.

Within its limits, *Okinawa* could hardly be better. Nevertheless this reviewer hopes that forthcoming volumes will sacrifice some narrative detail for increased critical comment and will give more attention to events behind the skirmish line. If this can be done without sacrifice of the high standard already achieved, the series will be a monument.

*Swarthmore College*

JAMES A. FIELD, JR.

THE AUDIENCIA OF NEW GALICIA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY:  
A STUDY IN SPANISH COLONIAL GOVERNMENT. By *J. H. Parry*,  
Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. (New York: Cambridge University  
Press. 1949. Pp. 204. \$3.00.)

THE audiencia of New Galicia was located in a district far removed from the center of the viceregal government of New Spain. For this reason and because of the general tendency observed in such bodies to extend the area of their jurisdiction, it did not limit itself to strictly judicial functions but embraced those which the author describes in these words: "Certainly the audiencia of New Galicia from time to time exercised independent powers of legislation in minor matters, controlled public works, made emergency appropriations for military and executive needs, provided for exploration and defence, created new offices to meet new necessities and appointed candidates to vacant offices already existing" (p. 12).

The well-known facts about the conquest of New Galicia are recalled in the volume, and the creation of the audiencia in 1548 in order to restore order and justice to this province, which up to that time had not enjoyed a good government.

The book is well conceived and documented. In addition to published sources there are many citations of documents from the Archivo General de Indias, but none from the archives of Guadalajara. This omission is explained by the fact that although the archive of public instruments (*Sección de Libros de Gobierno*) would have been most useful to the author, its documents insofar as this section is concerned date from the seventeenth century and therefore do not fall within the chronological limits set for this monograph.

Parry discusses successively the function of the audiencia with regard to the Indians, the conquistadores, and the church. The first part of the book relates to the period prior to 1572, and the second part to the subsequent years up to 1600. This division corresponds to the historical event of the reorganization of the audiencia, which took place in 1572, in which it advanced from an audiencia subordinated judicially to the audiencia of Mexico to that of a royal audiencia and chancery subject to the Council of the Indies and from 1574 presided over by a governor-president.

The author points out that the authority of this audiencia extended over a vast territory which comprised the present Mexican states of Jalisco, Nayarit, Colima, and Aguascalientes, and parts of Sinaloa, Zacatecas, Durango, Guanajuato, Querétaro, and San Luis Potosí.

Much attention is paid to the institutional details of the functioning of the audiencia, but fortunately the author has been pleased to present also some aspects of the social background of the life of the province.

This is, in my opinion, a study discreetly and adequately presented.

*Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico*

SILVIO ZAVALA

DAVID CURTIS DE FOREST AND THE REVOLUTION OF BUENOS AIRES. By *Benjamin Keen*, Associate Professor of History, West Virginia University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1947. Pp. 186. \$3.00.)

It is refreshing to encounter a volume that is as spirited as it is scholarly. In this biographical study of David Curtis De Forest, the author draws a lively portrait of the adventures and activities of an early nineteenth century Yankee whose "career was a veritable embodiment of the contribution of the United States to the winning of Argentine independence." Born in Connecticut in 1774, De Forest exemplified the same spirit of enterprise and self-reliance that nerved others of his generation to endure the hardships and perils of the western frontier. In 1800 he determined, as he said, to take to the sea "as a common Sailor and depend only on my own exertions, for future promotions." This vigorous resolution, coupled with a daring spirit, furnishes the key to De Forest's career and explains his rise to affluence and prominence.

After several bold ventures to the closed coasts of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, late in 1806 De Forest reached Buenos Aires and, despite the prohibitions against foreigners, established himself as a commission merchant. From that date his fortunes were closely related to that city. These were the turbulent years of the disruption of Spanish authority, the rise of the revolutionary movement, and the achievement of Argentine independence. During this period, De Forest's activities present a curious mixture of self-interest and idealism. He reaped large profits from his commercial enterprises (both legal and illicit), and from the privateering business in which he engaged at the close of the War of 1812; at the same time, he advocated the republican faith and served the patriot cause. In 1812, he was granted the title of honorary citizen of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata in recognition of his patriotism. In 1818, he was appointed consul general of the new republic to the United States. Although De Forest failed to secure official recognition from the administration, his mission was not a complete failure, for he did much to publicize and thus further the Argentine cause.

It is clear from the evidence of De Forest's own papers that the mainspring of his actions was the pursuit of profit; but his strong, adventurous bent gives a dash of excitement to his doings that lifts them above the humdrum level of the countinghouse. More than this, he was no mere money-grubbing *commerçant*, for, unlike some of his countrymen a century later, he entered warmly into the life of Buenos Aires. Significantly he frequently signed himself "Don Cortes De Forest"; he had a wide circle of friends, including such leaders as Rivadavia and Larrea; he contributed books to the library of the city and, before leaving the country, turned over his country estate for the endowment of the Academy of the Union of the South. Upon his return to the United States, he evidenced his faith in inter-American co-operation by encouraging young Argentinians to come to this country for commercial training. His biography thus furnishes another fragment in the background of the Monroe Doctrine, suggesting that commercial and

cultural contacts, as well as political sympathies, had a part in determining this country's policy.

Mr. Keen has presented his materials with skill, combining capable scholarship with a trenchant style. The most original part of his study deals with De Forest's business activities in Buenos Aires; one might wish that he had amplified these chapters and furnished more detail on De Forest's commercial contacts and transactions. But as the title indicates, the author's interest was centered on De Forest's relation to the revolution of Buenos Aires. He is to be congratulated upon an achievement which shows real historical imagination.

*Hunter College*

DOROTHY BURNE GOEBEL

INCIDENTS OF TRAVEL IN CENTRAL AMERICA, CHIAPAS, AND YUCATAN. By *John L. Stephens*. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by *Richard L. Predmore*. In two volumes. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1949. Pp. xx, 346; xiv, 401. \$10.00.)

WHEN it first appeared, in 1841, this most readable and archaeologically and historically very important book of travel immediately became a best seller. It went through twelve editions within a period of three months; the twelfth was re-issued several times. In spite, however, of the large number of copies printed, it has never been an easy book to find, and of recent years greatly increased interest in Latin America and in the ancient Maya ruins has resulted in draining the rare-book market almost dry. Thus, in bringing out the present excellent reprint, Professor Predmore and the Rutgers University Press have filled a long-felt want.

In 1839, Stephens, already a seasoned traveler and well-known author, was sent by President Van Buren as a special envoy to the Central American Republic, which then consisted of the present states of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. It is certain that diplomacy was not his sole, nor perhaps even his principal, objective, for he was accompanied by the English artist Frederick Catherwood, whose beautiful drawings add so much to the interest of the work. At all events, the confused civil strife incident to the dissolution of the Republic made it impossible for him to find a responsible government, and the pair set out on a series of long and often hazardous journeys to every ancient site of which they could get wind. Their adventures make fascinating reading. Van Wyck Brooks, indeed, has said that Stephens was the greatest of American travel writers. His comments upon the stirring events of that troublous time and upon the life and customs of the Central Americans are valuable historical and sociological source material. The vivid descriptions of the many ruined Maya cities raised so great an interest in the antiquities of the New World that Stephens has with reason often been called the father of American archaeology. And Catherwood's meticulously accurate drawings, with Stephens' acute and detailed observations, render the two volumes of the greatest service to archaeologists, for many of the

buildings and the hieroglyphic inscriptions there recorded have since been destroyed.

In a brief introduction, Professor Predmore sketches Stephens' short but fruitful life. He has also corrected the originally ill-edited text, has supplied useful historical notes, and rectified various misspellings of place names. With very few exceptions—and these of pictures of little interest—all Catherwood's illustrations are faithfully reproduced. It is much to be hoped that *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan*, which chronicles a second expedition by the same pair, may also be reprinted.

*Carnegie Institution of Washington*

A. V. KIDDER

\* \* \* *Other Recent Publications* \* \* \*

## General History

ENVIRONMENTAL FOUNDATIONS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY. By *Derwent Whittlesey*, Professor of Geography, Harvard University. (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1949, pp. xiii, 160, \$2.25.) This book is a courageous and pioneer effort to bridge the gulf which practice has misguidedly established between history and geography in American education. In theory both disciplines would admit their close dependence on each other; yet in fact the geographers have tended to disregard change over anything short of geologic time, while the historians, after a cursory acknowledgment of its existence, have proceeded to take the physical environment for granted. As a generous and much-needed integration, Professor Whittlesey has written this volume for his Harvard colleagues in History I. Its purpose is to describe briefly the "successive stages on which the drama of European life has been played" and the "significance of the natural conditions in the sequence." After a preliminary analysis of Europe as the habitat of Western civilization and a background chapter on the eastern Mediterranean as the "anteroom" of European history, there follow four surveys of the European environment on the threshold of the Middle Ages, the discoveries, the industrial revolution, and "Tomorrow." In the first view a tripartite division of Europe is adopted (Mediterranean, northwest, and central Europe) which is employed throughout, and each section contains an initial picture of Europe in the *Landschaft* tradition on the eve of the change in question, an analysis of the forces working to change the environment, and a summary of the changes effected. This arrangement provides a useful pattern for what is really the climax of the book: the Europe of tomorrow. Here Professor Whittlesey, as if conscious of the blight which unrelieved description has traditionally laid on geographic teaching and writing, describes the contemporary natural environment of Europe (whose origins in a series of historical expansions have just been set forth) as a basis for speculation. Wisely stressing change rather than stability as the keynote, he surveys the future of "mother Europe" whose offspring, Western civilization, seems at last to have outgrown the "nursery," leaving mother "to find its new place in a world it no longer guides." The values of this pioneer work (only Wright's *Geographical Basis* has tried to do the same thing) are to be found in the author's rare and provocative ability to philosophize and generalize. The study of the European natural environment is kept constantly in a modern focus, with the elements of change balancing the purely descriptive, stable factors in the story. Its weaknesses are mostly inseparable from its original purpose. To provide in supplementary reading of less than 150 pages a survey of this scope necessitates cursory treatment. One could wish for more factual illustrations (of the sort Darby used in his *Historical Geography of England*) and possibly a few more dates to pin the narrative down in time. The author is more at home with the economic impact of the environment; its political implications could be emphasized. Why, for instance, does the ruler of the Palatinate become an Elector so early in German history? Occasionally the proportions seem open to question. Why, on page 89, in view of the basic theme of the book, is the first expansion of Europe into the larger world so hastily examined? And finally, to this myopic academic at least, the maps seemed unnecessarily fuzzy and murky and drawn on a variety of projections whose respective values might well have been explained to the layman. But the book represents a gesture of reconciliation

which has been long overdue, of mutual profit to historians, geographers, and their student victims.

T. C. MENDENHALL, *Yale University*

ACTES DU CONGRÈS HISTORIQUE DU CENTENAIRE DE LA RÉVOLUTION DE 1848. [Comité français des Sciences historiques.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1949, pp. xiii, 433, 600 fr.) This volume contains thirty-six of the papers which were read at the meetings held at Paris from March 30 to April 4, 1948, to commemorate the revolutions of 1848. Thirty-eight others are listed but were not received in time to publish. The published papers are divided into four main groups. In the first group, on questions of general interest, the most stimulating is that of Labrousse: "1848, 1830, 1789. Comment naissent les révolutions." His survey of the relation of preceding economic crises to the outbreak of the three revolutions is followed by the discussion, which was sometimes critical but generally favorable to his position. The next group is on method and sources. One of them simply lists the principal collections of manuscript sources in Paris for the history of the Second Republic. The major essay in this section is that on method in modern history by Morazé. After an oversharpest criticism of archivists and archives, he attempts to convince his audience that as 1848, the middle of the nineteenth century, marked the transition to the statistical phase of our civilization, the primary documentation of its historians must be statistics. The third group of papers is on the crisis of 1848 outside of France: England, Baden, Belgium, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Serbia, Czechoslovakia. Through them all runs a relatively new emphasis on social and economic factors, especially in those areas where, except for Greenfield's pioneer work on Lombardy, nationalism has tended to monopolize our attention. It is not easy to pick out individual papers in this group for special attention. Perhaps the most interesting are those on Belgium in 1848 (J. Dhondt), on the social work of the Roman Republic of 1849 (G. Bourgin), and on the social and agrarian problems in Poland (Mme. N. Gasiorowska and S. Kieniewicz, respectively). In the fourth group, on the crisis of 1848 in France, nearly all the studies are of minor details or of single departments, the exception being one on the attitude of the Catholics toward the labor problem in 1848. They will interest the specialist, as they supplement the studies of French local history that have been appearing, especially in the journal devoted to the Revolution of 1848.

LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL, *University of Minnesota*

COLLECTION DU CENTENAIRE DE LA RÉVOLUTION DE 1848. (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1948.) HIPPOLYTE CARNOT ET LE MINISTÈRE DE L'INSTRUCTION PUBLIQUE DE LA II<sup>e</sup> RÉPUBLIQUE (24 FÉVRIER-5 JUILLET 1848). By *Paul Carnot*. (Pp. 83, 80 fr.) RASPAIL. By *Georges Duveau*. (Pp. 62, 80 fr.) A LYON, EN 1848: LES VORACES. By *Justin Godart*. (Pp. 70, 80 fr.) LES ÉCRIVAINS DEVANT LA RÉVOLUTION DE 1848: LAMARTINE, HUGO, LAMENNAIS, GEORGE SAND, MICHELET, BÉRANGER. By *Jean Pommier*. (Pp. 77, 80 fr.) LAMENNAIS ET LA DÉMOCRATIE. By *René Rémond*. (Pp. 76, 80 fr.) These booklets offer sympathetic accounts of men and movements identified with the Revolution of 1848. Though no attempt is made to bring out new interpretations, the treatment of personalities seems to incline toward a mild rehabilitation of the reputations concerned. Mr. René Rémond in his account of Lamennais endeavors to portray his hero as a republican and a Christian who was the champion of the poor, the enemy of intolerance, and the opponent of a state socialism that would enslave the worker. Hippolyte Carnot, as described by Paul Carnot, was an able exponent of the state-supported system of free education that would train females as well as males.



Despite his political downfall, in 1848, Carnot lived to see the greater part of his program enacted during the Third Republic. Raspail, according to Georges Duveau, unfortunately lived long enough to see himself regarded as a dangerous radical by the French bourgeoisie. Parisian leader and proclaimer of the Second Republic, he won the enmity also of the workers, who, disgruntled by the failure of 1848, deserted him for extremists like Blanqui. Though he lived to be elected to the senate of the United French Republic, this republican patriarch and scientist was to the day of his death regarded as a firebrand—a reputation he did not deserve. In a booklet that contains thumbnail sketches of six literary figures of 1848, Jean Pommier gives us a fairly good picture of their activities by limiting his treatment to that year. Lamennais and Lamartine, anxious to participate in the events of that day and disillusioned by the outcome, are contrasted with Béranger and Michelet, who, though less responsible for the revolution in February, did their best to avoid participation in what they regarded as partisan politics. George Sand is described as a propagandist for the Republic as opposed to the National Assembly. She also seems to have had early premonitions of the rise of Bonapartism as a result of the Revolution. Justin Godart, in his treatment of Lyon in 1848, describes the role of the worker in the Revolution of 1848. He contends that the proletariat in the city were not extremists. There were no "June Days" in Lyon. An account of unemployed foreign workers is given and, in that connection, the impromptu invasion of Savoy by liberators from Lyon is included. These interesting summaries could have been even more useful if bibliographies had been included.

FRANKLIN C. PALM, *University of California, Berkeley*

EXPLORER OF THE HUMAN BRAIN: THE LIFE OF SANTIAGO RAMÓN Y CAJAL (1852–1934). By *Dorothy F. Cannon*. (New York, Henry Schuman, 1949, pp. xv, 303, \$4.00.) The historical approach to science presents difficulties of a unique nature: technically unequipped, the ordinary historian lacks the necessary competence, while the scientist often lacks the requisite background and interest. It is a measure of the success of the scientific endeavor and of the recognition of the importance of this endeavor that the history of science has become a thriving activity in its own right. To the nontechnical layman, the presentation of natural science is apt to be more successful than that of the physical, being better suited to the descriptive approach and less dependent upon acquaintance with an elaborate and intricate symbolism. This life of Ramón y Cajal—more simply, Cajal—gives an adequate account of his contribution to biological science. The title is somewhat too narrow, for Cajal was a histologist and his investigations dealt with the morphology of the whole nervous system, in which field he was a pioneer. The infinite capacity for taking pains, sometimes equated with genius, is well brought out in this biography, as well as the importance of technique—in his case the elaboration of successful staining methods which made possible Cajal's discoveries. Outwardly, Cajal's career might appear as a record of the smoothly steady progress and growing recognition of a man whose whole activity was centered in the quiet life of the laboratory. To be sure, success did eventually come to Cajal and his life was crowned by an Indian summer such as any scholar or scientist might envy, but the process was a slow and arduous one. The fortitude of Cajal's character emerges throughout his life; it enabled him, together with his physique, to survive the brutalities of his early education (a process calculated to weed out any but the most fit and sturdy) and the ruthless suppression of his initial and strong artistic bent. The background of the Spanish scene during Cajal's life—a picture drawn in attenuated colors that barely make it come to life—is an important part of the story. Cajal's views on society and politics, while broadly liberal, were

essentially rudimentary. He did fire to enthusiasm some of his own students, but of his ambition to put Spain on the scientific map there remained little more than his own accomplishments. To his own countrymen, for a long time, his activity in competing with European scientists seemed largely presumptuous. Ever since she expelled her Moslem conquerors Spain has not participated in any real sense in the scientific life of the West. This sketch follows fairly closely Cajal's own *Recuerdos de mi vida*, which receives little more than passing mention. The faithfulness to Spanish usage need not have been carried to the length of concealing Bordeaux under the comparatively little known Burdeos.

RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ, *Barnard College, Columbia University*

#### THE INSIDE STORY OF UNRRA: AN EXPERIENCE IN INTERNATIONALISM.

By *Marvin Klemme*. (New York, Lifetime Editions, 1949, pp. xi, 307. \$3.00.) The author, a Yale graduate in forestry, living in Oregon, had traveled widely in Europe, China, and the Philippines, before the war. He might therefore have been expected to write a well-organized book recording his two and a half years with UNRRA instead of airing his favorite grievances, criticisms, and personal opinions. As one man's point of view based largely on the diary he kept of his own experience, parts are vivid and presumably accurate. These sections of the narrative have the quality of a series of still photographs, rather than the color and meaning of a Breughel painting. Certainly this book is not an air map, or even a panorama of an international operation on an unprecedented scale as the title suggests. It is extremely uneven. Two of the best chapters are those entitled "Persecuted D.P.'s Are Sent to Sweden" and "D.P. Forestry Operations." Here the author had lived through the experiences and takes the reader with him. The weakest chapters are those generalizing on UNRRA organization, program, and performance. The research needed for these subjects is nowhere evident. Two chapters on subjects which were not UNRRA responsibilities could well have been omitted: "Jewish Treatment in Pre-War Germany" and "The Displaced Germans." Only six pages were given to the extraordinarily fine schools and vocational workshops together. Each merited a full chapter. Because of his own frustration over not accomplishing what he saw needed to be done, the author seems to have missed the miracle of the whole thing, namely, that UNRRA actually did care for the people who needed it. The real history of UNRRA remains to be published. It will carry a bibliography.

ELIZABETH G. GARDINER, *Nashville, Tennessee*

#### ARTICLES

DAVID FELLMAN. Doctoral Dissertations in Political Science in Preparation at American Universities. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Aug.

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP. Les travaux historiques américains de 1939 à 1947. *Bull. Soc. d'hist. mod.*, Jan., Apr., 1947 (pub. 1949).

PARKER WORLEY. Current National Bibliographies, I. *Lib. of Cong. Quar. Jour.*, Aug.

MARC BLOCH. Apologie pour l'histoire ou métier d'historien. *Cahiers des Annales*, 1947, no. 3.

FRANKLIN L. BAUMER. Intellectual History and Its Problems. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Sept.

GIULIO BRUNI ROCCIA. Il pensiero scientifico e la concezione sociale. *Nuova riv. stor.*, Jan., 1949.

SALO W. BARON. The Impact of the Revolution of 1848 on Jewish Emancipation. *Jewish Social Stud.*, July.

WERNER J. CAHNMAN. Frontiers between East and West in Europe. *Geog. Rev.*, Oct.

WALDO GIFFORD LELAND. The Role and Work of UNESCO. *Am. Assoc. Univ. Prof. Bull.*, Summer.

Ancient History<sup>1</sup>

T. Robert S. Broughton

HOW THE GREEKS BUILT CITIES. By R. E. Wycherley. (New York, Macmillan, 1949, pp. xxi, 228, \$4.50.) Many years ago Professor Wycherley compiled a most satisfactory index to Pausanias (Volume V of the Loeb edition). The introductory pages quite appropriately recall the *modus describendi* of his famous Greek predecessor. But this account of *How the Greeks Built Cities* is not merely a revised edition of the *Tour of Greece*. The treatment is genetic. Although the cities of the mainland in the fifth century receive greater attention, the author wanders freely in time and in space to obtain evidence for his sober generalizations. Wycherley hopes, "incidentally," that his "treatment will relate architecture more closely to Greek life." This is the real contribution, the hope fulfilled. He admits that he has neglected some of the elements of city construction, and that in no particular is his presentation exhaustive. But he has offered an interpretation adequately documented, an illuminating synthesis of civic architectural growth. The Hellenic polis is described as the architectural answer to needs and desiderata. The development was gradual and uneven, reflecting in material structures the innumerable Hellenic ways of life. Certain elements, to be sure, were found in almost all cities: acropolis, agora, temples, theater, gymnasium, and walls. But they were built and adorned only when and where the citizens wished them. In ascribing to foreign types or to pre-Hellenic models the sources of inspiration for the Hellenic builders, Wycherley is extremely cautious: "... the Hellenic city was in the main a new thing; its creators had to begin near the beginning, though traditions and survivals provided a nucleus." A chapter on Greek houses compensates for the author's failure to include more than a bibliographical note on sepulchral monuments. He returns, however, to the guidance of Pausanias in a final chapter on fountain buildings. The book is well written and clearly printed. Its fifty-two figures and sixteen plates are admirably selected and executed. The notes, bibliographical and informative, are most adequate. In the effort to attract both the general reader and the specialist, the author may not satisfy either completely. But he has produced an excellent and refreshing introduction to his subject.

J. J. VAN NOSTRAND, *University of California, Berkeley*

DEDICATIONS FROM THE ATHENIAN AKROPOLIS: A CATALOGUE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SIXTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES B.C. Edited by Antony E. Raubitschek, with the collaboration of Lilian H. Jeffery. (Cambridge, Archaeological Institute of America, 1949, pp. xv, 545, \$15.00.) This luxurious volume has 393 inscriptions and about 400 excellent illustrations. Most have been published, but it is helpful to have a complete collection with better texts. It is a matter for regret that dedications from other parts of Athens and from Attica are not included. The commentary is meticulous, and the bibliography almost too detailed. I am glad to see Pittakis not spelt Pittakys or Pyttakis. In many cases the text is better than in the recent book of Friedländer, *Epigrammata*, though Friedländer's use of the correct koppa for Raubitschek's consistent kappa (pp. 5, 358; Friedländer, p. 19 and elsewhere) is much to be preferred. Nearly fifty years ago I took a squeeze of two inscriptions which

<sup>1</sup> Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

Roberts published separately but which fit together, as Raubitschek knows, but he shows no illustration. Roberts thought that this fifth century inscription had a closed eta and Raubitschek (p. 8, no reference to Roberts, p. 64, note on 24a or to *I.G.* I<sup>2</sup>, 48; that to p. 247 is wrong) believes that an epsilon was changed from eta. My squeeze definitely shows an epsilon with traces of an iota cut by dittography from the previous iota before the epsilon. In no. 54, the fragment at the right should be in the middle. Friedländer (p. 118) has a better restoration of no. 148 which makes a metrical line, whereas Raubitschek's does not. In no. 178, a reference to Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (p. 345), and Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters* (pp. 1 ff.) (cited with wrong title on p. 363), would have been in order. Nos. 317 ff. give no reference to the inscription on tripod bases discovered and published by Robinson (*A.J.P.*, XXVIII [1907], 427). Stevens is soon to publish an article on "The Poros Tripods of the Acropolis." No. 329, cite also Picard, *L'Acropole*, p. 21; Cook, *Zeus*, III, 1106; *B.C.*, LXI (1937), 443 ff., figs. 6, 7; *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, no. 24, 14 f.; and on altars cf. now Yavis' *Greek Altars* (1949). To marble basins (pp. 369 ff.) add an unpublished fragment with part of an inscription on the rim at the University of Mississippi. For no. 374 cf. Schrader, *Marmorbildwerke*, pp. 325 ff.; *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 739. This is an important publication for students of Athenian history and archaeology.

DAVID M. ROBINSON, *University of Mississippi*

#### GENERAL ARTICLES

- WILLIAM A. IRWIN. The Orientalist as Historian. *Jour. Near East. Stud.*, Oct.  
 HAROLD H. NELSON. Certain Reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu and the Ritual of Amenophis. *Ibid.*, July, Oct.  
 CLAUDE F. A. SCHAEFFER. Chronologie et origine de la civilisation du bronze ancien de Chypre. *Rev. archéol.*, Apr.  
 J. A. O. LARSEN. The Origin and Significance of the Counting of Votes. *Class. Philol.*, July.  
 R. MEIGGS. A Note on Athenian Imperialism. *Class. Rev.*, May.  
 LIONEL PEARSON. Callisthenes in the Zenon Papyri. *Class. Philol.*, July.  
 HANS SCHAEFER. ΓΝΩΣΤΗΡ ΚΑΙ ΕΡΓΥΗΤΗΣ. *Mus. Helvet.*, VI., fasc. 1.  
 PIETRO ROMANELLI. Le origini di Roma: i dati della ricerca archeologica. *Capitolium*, Mar.  
 HENRY T. ROWELL. The "Campanian" Origin of Cn. Naevius and Its Literary Attestation. *Memoirs Am. Acad. Rome*, XIX.  
 LILY ROSS TAYLOR and T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON. The Order of the Consuls' Names in the Yearly Lists. *Ibid.*  
 T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON. More Notes on Roman Magistrates. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.*, LXXIX.  
 JÉRÔME CARCOPINO. Un ami de la vérité. *Rev. hist.*, July.  
 J. P. V. D. BALSDON. Long-Term Commands at the End of the Republic. *Class. Rev.*, May.  
 MAX TREU. Zur Clementia Caesars. *Mus. Helvet.*, V, fasc. 4.  
 JEAN BÉRENGER. Le refus du pouvoir. *Ibid.*, fasc. 3.  
 JACQUES SCHWARTZ. L'ombre d'Antoine et les débuts du principat. *Ibid.*  
 MARY WHITE SINGER. The Problem of Octavia Minor and Octavia Maior. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.*, LXXIX.  
 DENIS VAN BERCHEM. Cynthia ou la carrière contrariée. Essai sur la condition sociale des poètes latins. *Mus. Helvet.*, V., fasc. 3.  
 INEZ SCOTT RYBERG. The Procession of the Ara Pacis. *Memoirs Am. Acad. Rome*, XIX.  
 JAMES H. OLIVER. On Edict II and the Senatus Consultum at Cyrene. *Ibid.*  
 ERNESTINE F. LEON. The *Imbecillitas* of the Emperor Claudius. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.*, LXXIX.  
 MASON HAMMOND. The Tribune Day from Domitian through Antoninus: A Re-examination. *Memoirs Am. Acad. Rome*, XIX.  
 CEDRIC YEO. The Overgrazing of Ranch-Lands in Ancient Italy. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.*, LXXIX.  
 PIERRE LAMBRECHTS. La colonne du dieu-cavalier au géant et le culte des sources en Gaule. *Latomus*, Apr.

- O. and J. TAFFANEL. L'oppidum du Cayla, commune de Mailhac (Aude). *Rev. archéol.*, Apr.  
 ELIAS J. BICKERMAN. The Name of Christians. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Apr.  
 R. D. RICHARDSON. Eastern and Western Liturgies: The Primitive Bases of Their Later Differences. *Ibid.*

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND EPIGRAPHICAL ARTICLES

- I. J. GELB. The Date of the Cruciform Monument of Maništušu. *Jour. Near East. Stud.*, Oct.  
 AHMET DONMEZ and W. C. BRICE. The Distribution of Some Varieties of Early Pottery in South-East Turkey. *Iraq*, Spring.  
 E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN. The Cylinder Seals from Brak. *Ibid.*  
 M. V. SETON-WILLIAMS. Palestinian Temples. *Ibid.*  
 BARBARA PARKER. Cylinder Seals from Palestine. *Ibid.*  
 OLIVER GURNEY. Texts from Dur-Kurigalzu. *Ibid.*  
 HOMER A. THOMPSON. Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1948. *Hesperia*, July.  
 Id. The Pedimental Sculpture of the Hephaisteion. *Ibid.*  
 CHRISTOPH CLAIRMONT. Ein Edikt Antiochos' III. *Mus. Helvet.*, V, fasc. 4.  
 JAMES H. OLIVER. On Two Athenian Archons. *Class. Philol.*, July.  
 A. W. VAN BUREN. A Selection from the Antiquities at the American Academy in Rome. *Memoirs Am. Acad. Rome*, XIX.  
 LILIA BOROUCHROVA. Un nouveau monument de la déesse celto-romaine Epona. *Rev. archéol.*, Apr.

Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

EARLY SCOTLAND: THE PICTS, THE SCOTS, AND THE WELSH OF SOUTH-ERN SCOTLAND. By H. M. Chadwick. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1949, pp. xxix, 171, \$4.00.) This work is the last production of Professor Chadwick and is published posthumously, the editor being his wife. Professor Chadwick has here tackled one of the most difficult and one of the most contentious problems of British history. In his usual thorough style he has commenced by giving a rather complete account of the various sources available for a study of his subject and has made some extremely useful judgments on their value. Probably the most important part of the work is that relating to the Picts. Here he has followed, with modifications, something of the line laid down earlier by Rhys and more recently by Hubert. It is interesting to note, however, that he does not believe that the Celtic invaders of the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1000 B.C.) were the people known in Ireland as the Cruithni. Instead he holds that the Goidelic-speaking invaders were partially absorbed by the natives, who largely adopted their language. Out of this group came the Picts. Somewhat later, after 600 B.C., further Celtic invaders reached British shores. They spoke a labialized Celtic which was known to the Romans as Brythonic or British. Chadwick also points out that the Scots of Dalriada undoubtedly came originally from Scotland, later returning to set up their kingdom on the coast of Argyll. It was this small "Scottish" kingdom that eventually gave its name to Scotland. The author is also of the opinion that the Scottish invasion was made possible by support given from the British kingdoms in northern England and southern Scotland. These kingdoms, rising after the departure of the Romans, formed the main bulwark against Pictish invasions. Like most of Professor Chadwick's works, this book requires close attention, but the effort will be well rewarded. One usually feels that, whatever point the author accepts, he has done so only after the most rigorous examination. We can but regret that he was not able to complete the full work for which he had laid the plans.

W. STANFORD REID, *McGill University*

PRAGUE ESSAYS: PRESENTED BY A GROUP OF BRITISH HISTORIANS TO THE CAROLINE UNIVERSITY OF PRAGUE ON THE OCCASION OF ITS SIX-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY. Edited by R. W. Seton-Watson. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1949, pp. 145, \$3.50.) Six British scholars contributed to this volume which was to be presented to the Charles University of Prague in April, 1948. Before the copy went to press, the Communist regime was established in Czechoslovakia and the British inter-university committee canceled its arrangements for a representation at the university celebrations. It was, however, decided to proceed with the publication of the learned articles and the book appeared early in 1949. It is necessary to bear this in mind in order to understand why a brilliant appraisal of the heroic poetry of the Slavs by Professor C. M. Bowra closes the studies relating to the history of medieval universities and of Bohemia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Its author had been chosen as the Oxford delegate to Prague, and it would have been his duty and privilege to present both the message of greeting and the volume of essays to the *Rector Magnificus* of the Charles University. Four eminent scholars have joined in elucidating various aspects of intellectual life during the late Middle Ages. Professor G. R. Potter has pointed out some characteristics of the fourteenth century, and Sir Maurice Powicke has written a comparative study of the three leading *studia generalia*, namely Paris, Bologna, and Oxford. These two contributions, both of them succinct and illuminating, set the framework for the two articles by Professor R. R. Betts, of which the first is a sketch of academic life in Prague during the first sixty years of the existence of the university, while the second deals with the great debate in the universities of the fourteenth century concerning the universals. The true *pièce de résistance* is a masterly account of the activities of the Hussite delegates at the Council of Basel by Professor E. F. Jacob, well documented and drawn by an expert hand. The editor, Professor R. W. Seton-Watson, has explained in general terms what the Charles University has meant to the Czechs. His outline serves as a preface to the more specific contributions from the pens of the distinguished medievalists and aptly connects the past with the present day.

OTAKAR ODLOZILIK, *Columbia University*

THE *SPHERE* OF SACROBOSCO AND ITS COMMENTATORS. By Lynn Thorndike. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1949, pp. x, 496, \$10.00.) This is a major contribution, one that reflects again Professor Thorndike's fine scholarship, his unique talent for understanding scientific texts, his patience and skill in preparing them for modern readers. The *Sphere* was for generations a basic text in the medieval university curriculum and to read and comprehend such a work opens a new world to a modern reader. Obviously this "fundamental elementary text in astronomy" and the commentaries it evoked contain much medieval foolishness, but more important is the abundance of sound fact and sane comment the medieval writers provide. If one emphasizes too strongly, and unfairly, such passages as the "*Mantice vero species sunt quatuor*" in Cecco d'Ascoli's text (p. 346), he does violence to the high quality of the works as a whole. Let him rather ponder on such sections as those of Sacrobosco himself (pp. 140-42) and Robertus Anglicus (pp. 242-46) where they speak of sun and moon, not, of course, with the correctness of a modern scientist, but neither with a credulous naiveté too often attributed to all medieval men. This book cannot in this restricted space receive the critical comment it deserves. This must be left for writers in more specialized journals. The Latin texts, very carefully edited, and English translations are given for the *Sphere* of Sacrobosco and for the commentary of Robertus Anglicus, while the commentaries ascribed to Michael Scot, Cecco d'As-



coli, and an anonymous author have the Latin texts alone, as do supplementary sources given in five appendixes. There is an excellent introduction in which Thorndike states his case for dating the *Sphere* early in the thirteenth century and explains how "Sacrobosco wrote at just the right time to make a skillful combination of, and compromise between, the old literary astronomy of the twelfth-century translators from the Arabic. He welded together Macrobius and Ptolemy and frosted it over with Alfraganus, and his book stayed in style for five centuries."

GRAY C. BOYCE, *Northwestern University*

FEUDAL INSTITUTIONS AS REVEALED IN THE ASSIZES OF ROMANIA: THE LAW CODE OF FRANKISH GREECE. Translation of the Text of the Assizes with a Commentary on Feudal Institutions in Greece and in Medieval Europe, by *Peter W. Topping*, Assistant Professor of History, University of California, Santa Barbara College. [Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of History, Third Series, Volume III.] (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949, pp. x, 192, \$3.00.) This book was, originally, a dissertation, written under that good friend of medievalists and untiring worker in their behalf, the late Professor John L. LaMonte. A brief introduction sketches the historical background of the principality of Achaëa (or Morea), of which the so-called Assizes of Romania were the feudal law code; the Assizes are written in the *dialetto veneziano*; they depict conditions in the thirteenth century; were compiled in the early fourteenth century; and survive in ten MSS. (the oldest and best dating from 1423), based directly or indirectly upon an official copy which was probably destroyed in the fires in the Venetian chancery in 1574 or 1577. In a commentary of some seventy pages Topping describes the feudal institutions of Morea, as revealed in the Assizes, making some apt comparisons and contrasts with conditions in Jerusalem and the Anglo-Norman and French states; these comparisons are instructive and there is no false padding. Little or no use is made, however, of the extensive Spanish materials from which some good illustrative texts might have been chosen. The style and presentation of the material are direct and straightforward in both the introduction and the commentary, which are also free from any forced attempts at originality. Topping is careful and trustworthy. In one place (p. 99), he does seem to give the impression that slavery did not exist in Morea in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which is not so, and during the years of Frankish domination Greek slaves were, of course, exported to Europe in considerable numbers, especially to Catalonia and Italy, as shown by documents published by Miret y Sans, Rubió y Lluch, Iorga, and others. I think, too, that in his commentary Topping should have given rather more space to serfdom and a bit less to aids and incidents. Topping's translation of the Assizes is very good indeed and very readable. He has given us an excellent book, intended, like the other books in this series, for students; and we may say of it, more or less with Catullus, "Go out into the world, little book, and do some good!"

KENNETH M. SETTON, *University of Manitoba*

REGESTA HISTORICO-DIPLOMATICA ORDINIS S. MARIAE THEUTONICORUM, 1198-1525. Pars I, INDEX TABULARII ORDINIS S. MARIAE THEUTONICORUM. REGESTEN ZUM ORDENSBRUEFARCHIV. Vol. I, 1198-1454. Pars II, REGESTA PRIVILEGIORUM ORDINIS S. MARIAE THEUTONICORUM REGESTEN DER PERGAMENT-URKUNDEN AUS DER ZEIT DES DEUTSCHEN ORDENS. By *Erich Joachim* and *Walther Hubatsch*. (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1948, pp. xv, 392, 494, DM. 52.62.) The amazing fact about these volumes is that in Germany of today time and energy could be devoted to



them and that financial support was found to publish them. Joachim had done a considerable part of the work before his death in 1923; other hands have completed the task. Scholars interested in the story of the Teutonic Knights will find these registers indispensable, especially for the references to the unpublished materials of the Königsberg Archives, supplemented by pertinent references to manuscripts now in the Archives of Danzig, Kulm, and Frauenburg. Hubatsch, now the director of the enterprise, indicates also the wider usefulness of the references for an understanding of the rule of the Teutonic Order in changing European developments, especially those of the later Middle Ages; the relation of the Order to various political forces, to its own commanderies, the Hanse, popes, and councils. It is planned to have three volumes for the Ordensbriefarchiv Register. In the one now published, save for a single reference to the year 1198, the thirteenth century requires less than six pages, the fourteenth about thirty pages, while some three hundred fifty-seven pages are used for the abundant records of 1400-1432. The volume for parchment manuscripts has far more references for the earlier two centuries but reflects also the richer supply of sources for the fifteenth century. A register of the correspondence of the masters general of the Order is also in preparation, as are the necessary indexes, without which such a work would be almost useless. In the register for privileges of the Order the editor has given an informing *Nachwort*. This certainly could have been made an introduction to good advantage, for in its place at the end of the volume it may not be noticed even by a rather attentive reader. Although these works can profitably be consulted only by specialists, they will, when finally completed, be essential tools for researchers in various fields of German history of the Middle Ages.

GRAY C. BOYCE, *Northwestern University*

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## Modern European History

### THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

*Leland H. Carlson*

GRESHAM ON FOREIGN EXCHANGE: AN ESSAY ON EARLY ENGLISH MERCANTILISM WITH THE TEXT OF SIR THOMAS GRESHAM'S MEMORANDUM FOR THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE EXCHANGE. By *Raymond de Roover*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1949, pp. xx, 348, \$6.00.) This book sets out to publish an anonymous sixteenth century English memorandum on foreign exchange from a copy of it in the Kress Library at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. Another copy exists in the English Public Record Office and has been utilized by students of the subject. Dr. de Roover's first problem as he saw it was to date the document and to identify the author. Both of these he succeeds in doing from internal evidence. He demonstrates very convincingly that the memorandum was prepared early in the reign of Elizabeth, before the recoinage of 1560, and that its author was almost certainly Sir Thomas Gresham. With these points established, Dr. de Roover proceeds to discuss the English coinage and to explain the intricacies of international exchange. Before he has finished he has provided an introduction of 287 pages for a document which fills only 18 pages. No scholar will regret that he has gone into the matter at such length. International exchange in the sixteenth century in England has long been full of obscurities, arising in part from the disposition of contemporary writers to preserve an air of mystery about it and in part from somewhat foggy notions about it which have characterized most modern commentators. Even Professor Tawney, who, in his introduction to Dr. Thomas Wilson's "Discourse on Usury," has given us the best account heretofore in English, has himself been guilty of the cardinal blunder of assuming that bills of exchange were discountable paper. Dr. de Roover's account is admirably clear. He has the advantage of a wide knowledge of exchange on the Continent, where the technique of exchange originated and where it was well developed before England had much to do with it. Following the pattern of sixteenth century authors, Dr. de Roover, after explaining the operations of exchange, proceeds to discuss the attitude of contemporary writers toward it, with special emphasis upon the lucubrations of Gresham, Malynes, Misselden, and Mun. Gresham's views he gathers largely from the memorandum under consideration, though certainly it is no easy matter to determine what Gresham meant from what he said. According to Dr. de Roover the only contribution of importance which Gresham made to the problem of manipulating the exchange in the interests of England was the suggestion of a stabilization fund to be utilized to check unfavorable trends in the money market. Incidentally he reminds us that what is commonly known as Gresham's Law got its name from a nineteenth century economist. One may gather from Gresham's writings that this so-called law expressed his views but Gresham himself apparently never stated it in its classical form.

CONYERS READ, *University of Pennsylvania*

EDOUARD VII: LE ROI DE L'ENTENTE CORDIALE. By *Léon Lemonnier*. [Le Rayon d'histoire.] (Paris, Hachette, 1949, pp. 254, 300 fr.) To his long list of works—

plays, essays, novels, biographies—M. Léon Lemonnier adds this new life of Edward VII. The work makes no pretense of being a fresh analysis of all the relevant materials. It is based upon Sir Sidney Lee's biography and a few other well-known secondary works referred to in a brief bibliographical note. The narrative is strictly chronological and to a large degree personal. The reign itself is allotted only eighty pages, but, even in these, the king's personal affairs hold the center of the stage and little attention is paid to British history or to Edward VII's relations with his ministers except in the period of the formation of the entente. The author feels that the French public of these present postwar years should be reminded of what they owe to this *roi de l'Entente cordiale*. His book should serve this purpose admirably. It is hardly extraordinary that the first full-length portrait of Edward VII to appear since the war should be by a Frenchman. This biography has no especially striking passages. The author's aim was to tell his story clearly and simply from Edward's childhood overshadowed by Albert through the young manhood overshadowed by Victoria to the few years of maturity and achievement. To the professional historian, the book will appear overburdened with genealogical and dynastic detail. M. Lemonnier is very much at home with the marriage alliances and social activities of the German princelings of the Victorian era, so much so that some readers may be tempted to conclude that little else counted in shaping the destinies of Europe. This emphasis on court life and "Society" was perhaps unintentional, for the author cannot but be aware that the doings of the *haut monde* in which the Prince of Wales loved to move often played no such major part in making the history of the period 1860-1910 what it was. Fortunately, most readers among the educated French public will know that there are such things as expertly staffed foreign offices, and that the hard facts of European economic history from 1870 to 1900 had fully as much to do with bringing about an *entente cordiale* as Edward VII's instinctive liking for Paris and the French people.

HOLDEN FURBER, *University of Pennsylvania*

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## FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop

ASPECTS DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE PARIS. By Louis Halphen, et al. (Paris, Albin Michel, 1949, pp. 266, 390 fr.) These lectures, given by ten distinguished scholars at the Institut Catholique in Paris during the year 1945-1946, open few new vistas, but they are nonetheless a fine addition to the ever-increasing literature on the University



of Paris. The popular character of the lectures made some repetition necessary and occasionally the speakers dwell upon rather tedious detail, yet each author must be credited with passages reflecting brilliant insight and powers of keen observation. The lecturers are all experts with reputations for sound scholarship. Louis Halphen describes Parisian origins with deftness, while P. Glorieux presents a vivid picture of the theological faculty, discussing also the historical role of its distinguished masters of the thirteenth century. Dupont-Ferrier ably analyzes the professorial groups and student adherents of the Faculty of Arts, placing both in that exciting region of the Left Bank (*le pays latin*) where they dominated by numbers if not always through brilliance of mind. The well-known canonist Gabriel Le Bras speaks in splendid fashion of the Faculty of Law, but his theme is the rather pathetic story of a group too homogeneous to profit from the challenge of clashing opinions, lacking in ambition and remarkable for the stagnation of its teaching. "At Paris," he remarks, "legal studies were respected, but they lacked brilliance and splendor." A charming picture of Parisian student life is provided by Charles Samaran, whose fine studies allow him to speak with authority and to delight his readers. There are five lectures covering the post-medieval ages. These are all good, but somewhat uneven in quality, suffering in places from a mass of factual detail. Their importance is that they do cover in broad outline that part of university history that still needs to be written; indeed, that needs still to be explored. Renaudet writes of the impact of humanism on Parisian masters and Victor Carrière discusses them when challenged by the implications of the Reformation. If Parisian humanists of the school of Valla vented their spleen on companions who had drunk too deeply at the springs of Roman and Florentine thought, the university, however, showed itself "timid" before the challenge of brilliant humanists who flourished best outside the classroom. "*Le rôle civilisateur*" of Paris is a continuing one. To complete the story D. Tolédano writes on the Old Régime, C. H. Pouthas covers post-Revolutionary times, and J. Calvet describes the Institut Catholique, whose students today are students of the University of Paris. These concluding lectures are worthy attempts to present in too restricted space the essentials they demand.

GRAY C. BOYCE, *Northwestern University*

NAPOLEON IN ITALY, 1796-1797. By *Elijah Adlow*. (Boston, William J. Rochfort, 1948, pp. xii, 226, \$3.00.) Lest any should be misled by title implications, be it noted the preface of this volume states forthwith that "its subject matter was a series of lectures to officers and men of the 29th infantry division" by the author, then a lieutenant colonel, at other times a local Boston judge. The book is well published, its matter is clearly and stimulatingly presented, yet its broad title is unfortunate. Even in a limited military sense there is given no reliable balanced treatment of the first Italian campaign, classic of modern warfare. Rash oversteppings into coincident diplomacy and politics entail serious errors. Unrevised since demobilization are sundry garblings, often significant, of names, places, and other factual data. Anti-Bonaparte, pro-Austrian bias, rarely justified by latest critical study, is too evident. Its handicaps of origin are very evident; its meager basis of two dozen ill-cited references of uneven value; the ignoring of such well-known American military precursors as Dodge or Sargent, who fifty years ago gave us good handlings of Adlow's theme. Seemingly Adlow preferred, in translation, the far older treatments by Clausewitz or Jomini (sometimes one, again the other), flavored with some old memoirs, or checked by casual use of later French, Austrian, or English articles. Because of good use of recent maps, the lectures handle tactical aspects best, yet without the contemporary correlations often expected; their weakness is chiefly in strategic grasp. For Colonel

Adlow's army listeners his lectures must have had much appeal, as his very readable book may have for the general public. However, it certainly is not the comprehensive scholarly restudy in English of the initial testing time of Bonaparte as rising master of warfare, diplomacy, and statecraft. That study is the more wanted in view of several decades of critical foreign research, some works of d'Estre, Fugier, Garros, Godechot, Reinhard, Roberti, being very recent.

F. E. MELVIN, *University of Kansas*

NAPOLEON AT ST. HELENA, 1815-1821. By *Frédéric Masson*. Translated by *Louis B. Frewer*. (Oxford, Pen-in-Hand, 1949, pp. xix, 283, 15s.) The French original of this work was published about thirty-seven years ago. One naturally wonders why, if we have done so long without a translation, it is necessary to have one now. After reading both the translator's foreword and the book itself, one still wonders. The book will certainly not be very useful to the professional historian. In his introduction the author insists that he has devoted himself "to making known . . . those facts with which the documents have provided" him. Earlier, however, he had condemned most of the published materials and had vaguely mentioned "valuable unpublished material." Throughout the work, unfortunately, there is no effort to relate "facts" to particular sources. The view that Napoleon's legal position (itself unconvincingly explained) was such as to "justify and glorify his resistance to English oppression" is unlikely to carry conviction, particularly since his conduct, as described by Masson, is likely to seem merely petty, even allowing for the sad conditions. The "fact" (and others like it) that the British cabinet seriously searched for a man to be governor who would, of all people in the empire, be most annoying to Napoleon will seem at least doubtful. While tastes differ, it is also questionable whether the general reader will find the book interesting or rewarding. Who were the grandparents of Napoleon's entourage at St. Helena? Who was his cook? Who stood guard at the door? Does one really care?

GEORGE WOODBRIDGE, *Washington, D. C.*

GRANDEUR DE "LA TROISIÈME": DE GAMBETTA À POINCARÉ. By *Maurice Reclus*. [Tribune de l'Histoire.] (Paris, Hachette, 1948, pp. 251, 250 fr.) This spirited and provocative book challenges many of the criticisms often leveled against the Third French Republic. Asserting that the presidents of the Republic were no mere figureheads, M. Reclus cites Sadi-Carnot's role in the Franco-Russian Alliance and Loubet's in the Entente Cordiale. The Panama scandal, he claims, obscured the fact that republican France was usually governed with a minimum of corruption, extravagance, and inefficiency. The frequent cabinet crises, again, gave a misleading impression of instability. One of the most valuable sections of the book analyzes the chief ministerial changes down to 1918 and emphasizes the underlying continuity in personnel and in policy. M. Reclus denies the frequent contention that the Third Republic oscillated between "opportunism" and "radicalism" at home and between the pursuit of *revanche* and the appeasement of imperial Germany abroad. To him the policy of the Republic was all of a piece, consistently opportunistic in the best sense of the word. It systematically and successfully provided safeguards for individual liberties, for the expansion of the French empire, and, above all, for the recovery of the lost provinces. M. Reclus weakens his case by stopping abruptly in 1918 with scarcely a mention of the mounting economic problems and social tensions destined to dominate French politics between the two world wars. Few readers will be likely to accept unreservedly his narrowly political approach, his assumption that *revanche* was pre-eminently important, or his failure to discuss the cost of the First

World War to France in lives and resources. Within these limitations, however, the book is a most useful antidote to the persistent popular belief that the Third Republic was remarkable chiefly for frequent cabinet downfalls and political scandals. Even at its most dogmatic and controversial the book is always lively, as in this characterization of the constitution of 1875: "*Des républicains . . . auraient confectionné un texte savant, plus propre à exciter l'admiration des professeurs de droit qu'à assurer le train-train du régime. Ces braves monarchistes mirent à la disposition de la République une constitution simplette, souple et solide comme tout . . .* [p. 230]."

JOHN B. CHRISTOPHER, *University of Rochester*

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## THE LOW COUNTRIES

*B. H. Wabeke*

LES ORIGINES DU JANSÉNISME DANS LES PAYS-BAS CATHOLIQUES: LE MILIEU—LE JANSÉNISME AVANT LA LETTRE. By *L. Willaert, S.J.*, Professeur aux Facultés Notre-Dame de la Paix, à Namur. (Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires, Tome XLIII, fasc. 2.) (Brussels, Académie Royale de Belgique, 1948, pp. 438.) Jansenism has attracted a large company of historians, but most of them have concentrated their attention upon the dramatic story in France, which probably should be called Saint-Cyranism or Arnauldism. This book shifts the emphasis to the Spanish Netherlands and Jansenius. It is a very useful study both as a contribution to the religious history of the seventeenth century and as a striking illustration of the fact that a religious movement can be understood only in terms of the total picture of the society. Most of this volume is devoted to the political, economic, intellectual, and ecclesiastical milieu in which Jansenius lived; a very small part deals with the leader's theological and philosophical ideals. Father Willaert's central thesis is that Jansenism arose in the Spanish Netherlands because that territory was the spearpoint of the Counter Reformation. Its people were profoundly attached to Catholicism, and their struggle to maintain their religion attracted Catholic allies from all of Europe to their aid. This meant that the Spanish Netherlands occupied an international status at the time when the rest of Europe was forming into national groups, and that the ideas of all Europe flowed into the territory to fructify and stimulate its intellectual and cultural life. At Louvain and Douai crosscurrents of Italian science, English rationalism, baroque and Renaissance art, Spanish mysticism, and Erasmian humanism competed for attention. Justus Lipsius, the famous teacher of both Jansenius and Saint-Cyran, summed up the credo of an intellectual in this milieu by admitting himself to be an eclectic in philosophy and fervently Catholic in religion. Eclecticism cannot long hold men's imaginations, but it serves as a bridge to new philosophies. Willaert wisely refrains from circumscribing too closely their roots, but he suggests that Jansenism and Cartesianism easily became allies because of their common inspiration. Above all, the life of the Spanish Netherlands had a spiritual orientation. Just as the artists and architects ornamented the churches, the intellectual élite sought to glorify God and to spiritualize human life. There was a surprisingly large number of men in the Catholic Netherlands who made proposals for purifying and reforming the church. In general they fell into two groups: those who looked to the papal throne for leadership and those who sought to decentralize the leadership in the episcopal hierarchy. The Jesuits were the natural leaders of the former; the latter group finally crystallized around the movement to which Jansenius gave his name. Perhaps as a Jesuit himself Father Willaert cannot refrain from pointing out that Jansenius was refused admission to the Society of Jesus on the grounds of his bad health. Undoubtedly that fact did play its part in his psychological development, but by Willaert's own thesis it was not more than incidental as a factor in the origin of Jansenism. Since this volume obviously gives only the background of the Jansenist movement in the Spanish Netherlands, it is to be hoped that Father Willaert will continue the story in succeeding volumes.

JOHN B. WOLF, *University of Minnesota*

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## NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

LABOR IN NORWAY. By *Walter Galenson*, Assistant Professor of Economics, Harvard University. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1949, pp. xii, 373, \$5.00.) A more accurate title would have been "Norwegian Industrial Labor—Its Relations with Management and Government," for the book does not deal with labor as a whole. Seamen and fishermen are disregarded; farm labor is given but fleeting mention; living conditions are not treated. The author says that his aim "goes beyond a mere history" (p. 1)—just what is "mere history"? The essential significance of the book is nevertheless historical. As Sumner Slichter says in the foreword, "The most important part is [the] penetrating discussion of the effect of power upon trade unions and the Labor party." Out of labor's struggle for rights has grown labor's position of responsibility in the Norwegian government and economy. The end result is the demand by labor itself for maximization of production and for maintenance of an economically sound wage-price relationship. In this revolution of labor thought and practice, unions tend to become "administrative divisions of society rather than . . . defensive and combative organizations" (words of Martin Tranmael, p. 338). Strikes become "contradictory to the purposes of the labor movement" (p. 332), and it is capitalists who must be forced to produce. This explains labor's about-face in recent years to favor compulsory arbitration. The sweeping force of this whole development is partially obscured by detailed analyses of methods of collective bargaining, the labor boycott, and wage determination. Yet it is the evolution of these methods and of institutions such as the labor court (well described), which show how the fundamental transformation has been brought about. It has been done in Norway by democratic processes, with a minimum of outright socialization. There is all too little emphasis on *how* the influence of circumstances and personalities produced the changes described. And one looks in vain for a thorough discussion of the relationships between the trade unions and the Labor party. The chairmen of the national unions are members of the Labor party, and the worker is interested in the success of the party. But exactly how do unions and party co-operate? Collaboration is probably largely personal; many of the party leaders have come out of the union movement, and surely many union leaders have their eyes on governmental posts. The pervasive labor point of view sometimes produces distortion of fact. For example ". . . the Norwegian labor movement has never faced a concerted open-shop drive that threat-



ened its very existence" (p. 206). In such matters it is unionists who take the initiative; but in Norway labor has gained such a degree of organization that it has not felt it necessary to demand a closed shop; naturally capital has not been impelled to "drive" for an open shop, though many employers did for years resist unionism as a whole. In general the book is dependable, critical, and highly suggestive, emphasizing the profound significance of Norwegian experience for the United States.

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT, *Northwestern University*

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## GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner

REGIONAL CONFLICTS AROUND GENEVA: AN INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN, NATURE, AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE NEUTRALIZED ZONE OF SAVOY AND OF THE CUSTOMS-FREE ZONES OF GEX AND UPPER SAVOY. By *Adda B. Bozeman*. (Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1949, pp. xv, 432, \$5.00.) From earliest times as is well known the Rhône has been a principal channel of communication between the Mediterranean and northern Europe. Some three hundred miles from the sea the valley is walled in by the Jura mountains

on the west and the high Alps on the east. Here lies Geneva. An important center of industry from medieval times, the city has always found its chief source of food and its principal market in lands closely contiguous, especially those to the south. Political sovereignty in these lands, however, was long divided between France and Savoy. Since neither could prevail they resorted to "demilitarizing and neutralizing parts of the region for which they contended" (p. 99). Thus the inhabitants of the area found a measure of security and prosperity despite the boundaries which divided them. At the Congress of Vienna the demilitarized, neutralized, and customs-free zones of the earlier period were defined and made a part of the law of Europe. At the same time Geneva, rather unenthusiastically, became a Swiss canton. Thus, it was hoped, might French imperialism be held in check. By the Treaty of 1860, however, Savoy, that is Piedmont-Sardinia, withdrew from the area, handing over her holdings to France. In the accompanying plebiscite the inhabitants made it clear that they would acquiesce in French sovereignty only if the customs union with Geneva were continued. Switzerland, moreover, indicated her keen interest in the continuance of the neutralized zone and the French did not strongly object. At Versailles it was a different story. Article 435 specified that there be no neutral zone and that the customs-free zone be eliminated if the Swiss would agree. Two years later Swiss negotiators gave their consent and Poincaré exclaimed, "*Dieu merci, la victoire a mis fin à cette scandaleuse diminution de notre souveraineté nationale.*" The Swiss voters refused ratification however, and in 1923 both countries appealed to the World Court. Nine years and eleven volumes later the court decided that the rights of the Swiss Confederation under former treaties were still in force and that France was not entitled to suppress the customs-free zone without Swiss consent. France was given until January 1, 1934, to withdraw her customs officials, who left at the very last moment. Thus the region has been, as the author states, "a laboratory of experiment in international government." The book is thoroughgoing, and, indeed, it tends to be repetitious here and there, but the task of organization is a very difficult one; it has been performed in the main with skill. This reader found the maps rather unsatisfactory. The frontispiece map is too crowded; the same items should be included in a double-page insert of the quality to be found in any textbook. The half-dozen sketch maps are adequate but they do not delight the eye.

WARREN O. AULT, *Boston University*

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*Gaudens Megaro*

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## RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

*Sergius Yakobson*

PERSONALITY AND CULTURE IN EASTERN EUROPEAN POLITICS. By *Dinko Tomasic*, Associate Professor of Sociology, Indiana University. [Library of Policy Sciences.] (New York, George W. Stewart, 1948, pp. 249, \$3.75.) It is a pleasure to read a book which tries to break away from diplomatic intrigues or ideological controversies in dealing with southeastern Europe. As the bibliography attached to this volume shows, there is no dearth of studies on the sociology of those peasant countries, but few of them are known in the West and only a handful are by Western scholars. Professor Tomasic has tried to relate the old and deep-seated traits of those communities to the evolution of their modern societies, both in their normal relations and in conflict, and he has done so in one respect with a wealth of valuable material. Most of his material relates to the institution and working of the *zadruga*, but this communistic family community (in the sense of the Chinese "large family" type) was known, even among the Southern Slavs, only to some of them; it was not known to the Bulgarians, nor among Hungarians, Rumanians, Poles, and other peasant peoples. On the other hand, the main sociological traits which Professor Tomasic brings out are to be found in all those peasant communities. By drawing general conclusions from such a limited basis the writer has charged rather too much to the influence of the *zadruga* and to the consequences of its decay; the material relating to it is drawn indeed almost wholly from Croatia and so are most of the Slav terms he uses (and there is a hint of an old local antagonism in the somewhat dogmatic contrast he makes between "power seeking in Dinaric society"

and "power indifference in *zadruga* society"). The top-heavy structure of the book lets it down badly in the political sections, which neglect the two general forces that have had most to do with the shaping of present-day Europe. The writer finds the origin of the eastern states "in power seeking personality traits," but neglects the nationalist current which has had and still has so much to do with the rise of new states. And in discussing the urban-rural conflict in eastern Europe he ignores the sharp part which Marxist Socialism had in this, though it shook and shaped the eastern revolutionary movements as nothing else did. Professor Tomasic has really mixed in this volume two separate subjects, with no real or valid connection with each other. One is a sociological study of the Southern-Slav *zadruga* based on much careful material ("Personality and Culture in the Southern-Slav *Zadruga*" would have been a more accurate and adequate title), the other little more than a collection of general statements on the politics of eastern Europe. It is a pity, because the two are nowhere on the same level and the first has something worth while to tell.

DAVID MITRANY, *Oxford, England*

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Sidney Glazer

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## Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

ONE INCREASING PURPOSE: THE LIFE OF HENRY WINTERS LUCE. By B. A. Garside. With an Introduction by Henry P. Van Dusen. (New York, Fleming H. Revell, 1948, pp. 271, \$3.75.) To the average American reader, Henry Winters Luce is best identified as the father of the Luce of *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune*. Yet entirely aside from that parental connection he had a notable career for which he is remembered by thousands in China and in Protestant missionary circles in that country and the United States. Born September 24, 1868, in Scranton, Pennsylvania, of old New England stock, his rearing was that of many other boys of respectable American families of the day. He was active in the local unit of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, then in the first flush of its popularity. He entered

Yale with the class of 1892 and while in his senior year turned from his earlier purpose to study law and decided to go into the ministry. This was followed, while in theological seminary, by membership in the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, then in its heyday, with its sweeping "watchword," "the evangelization of the world in this generation." For a year Luce traveled for that movement, recruiting for missions men and women in colleges, universities, and theological seminaries. He went to China in 1897 and there gave himself to Christian higher education. He had an outstanding part in the development of two universities, Shantung Christian (now Cheeloo) and Yenching. At sixty he made his home again in the United States and in a variety of ways interpreted China to his fellow countrymen. The biography is by a friend, for popular reading. It is based upon first-hand material but is not meant to be a critical appraisal. It is, rather, a well-written narrative of warm appreciation.

K. S. LATOURETTE, *Yale University*

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## United States History

Richard J. Purcell

### GENERAL

GUIDE TO THE RECORDS IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1948, pp. xvi, 684, \$2.50.) The recent publication of a

new edition of the *Guide to the Records in the National Archives* is an event of major importance for scholarship. This edition supersedes rather than supplements the first edition, issued in 1940, and provides the first general description of the holdings of that agency in nearly a decade. During the period between the two editions, the quantity of records in the custody of the National Archives has more than quadrupled, and the holdings described in the present guide total 813,000 cubic feet. Included in this figure are more than 500,000 maps, 30,000,000 feet of motion picture film, 1,000,000 photographs, and 250,000 recordings. By June 30, 1947, the National Archives had approached completion of the formidable initial task of transferring to its custody the noncurrent records of the government. With the exception of those of a very few agencies, such as the Supreme Court, the General Accounting Office, and the Library of Congress, the records of all permanent agencies of the government up to a quite recent period were in the National Archives building. In addition, practically all records of emergency agencies of the First World War, most records of temporary agencies of the depression years, and records of many of the emergency agencies of the recent war were in its custody. Hence the present *Guide*, in describing the holdings of the National Archives, provides for the first time a reasonably thorough guide to the substantial corpus of "closed" records of the United States government. The absorption of some 600,000 cubic feet of records in seven years has naturally left little time for digestion. Though the record series in the custody of the National Archives are with minor exceptions in usable order, few of them have yet been analyzed or inventoried in detail, and the description of bodies of records in the *Guide* is necessarily correspondingly general, with wide variations in the amount of information given about each group. The unit of description in the *Guide* is the "record group." Such a group consists usually of the records of a single independent agency, such as the Interstate Commerce Commission, or of a major bureau of a department, such as the Bureau of the Census. For each record group there is a brief administrative history and description of the functions of the agency that created the records and a statement of their dates, volume, and character, frequently broken down into separate major bodies of records within the group. Succinct but useful bibliographical notes are included for most record groups, and reference is made to inventories and other finding aids prepared by the National Archives and to important indexes and other major tools for using the records in each group. In a separate appendix is contained a statement on restrictions, if any, placed on access to the records in each group. An extended index is included.

DAN LACY, *Washington, D. C.*

AMERICAN HISTORY AS INTERPRETED BY GERMAN HISTORIANS FROM 1770 TO 1815. By *Eugene Edgar Doll*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume XXXVIII, Part 5, 1948.] (Philadelphia, the Society, 1949, pp. 421-534, \$1.75.) German writings on America dated from the earliest days of discovery, were extended during the period of colonization, and reached a very high level in quantity and quality during the era of the American Revolution. Starting with geographers' descriptions, the bulk of this literature was increased by promotional publications and religious writings relating chiefly to Pennsylvania. After the middle of the eighteenth century a whole school of professionally trained scholars (centering at Göttingen) turned their attention to the American scene and produced a series of meritorious works, culminating in the truly magnificent performance of Christoph D. Ebeling. The portion of Dr. Doll's work dealing with the American Revolutionary era is, as he intended it should be, his most important contribution. He has examined little-known studies by professors and publicists whose bent for statis-

tics gave their publications a solidity and soberness often wanting in the rhetorical compositions of French, English, or American contemporaries. German writers were often able to view the crisis in Anglo-American relations with an impartiality and critical insight rare until almost our own time. Friedrich Wilhelm von Taube's emphasis on economic factors marks him as an interesting forerunner of similar twentieth century interpreters. With striking clairvoyance he prophesied that the alienation between England and America would at length be succeeded by a rapprochement founded on their basic ties of a common culture. Most of the Germans who wrote on America were moderate liberals in sympathy with American ideals. America was a guide to liberalism in Germany as elsewhere. The outstanding figure is Ebeling, to whom the author has rightly given the largest space. Ebeling built on studies already in print, but added to them by his indefatigable industry extending over many years. His geographical history, although unfinished, set a standard of excellence unmatched in detail and comprehensiveness. The influence of Ebeling's work on American historiography reached deep into the nineteenth century in Germany and in America. Dr. Doll's volume is a valuable item in the growing list of studies of American-German relations, and it is to be hoped that he will complete his investigation into subsequent German historical interpretations of America.

MICHAEL KRAUS, *City College of New York*

THIS WAS AMERICA: TRUE ACCOUNTS OF PEOPLE AND PLACES, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, AS RECORDED BY EUROPEAN TRAVELERS TO THE WESTERN SHORE IN THE EIGHTEENTH, NINETEENTH, AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES. By *Oscar Handlin*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1949, pp. ix, 602, \$6.00.) This is another sprightly anthology of the accounts of more and less eminent European travelers between 1780 and 1939. Many of the forty writers, representing eleven nationalities, cannot be described as professional literary people. The editor set out to achieve an orderly and connected picture of the people of the American past, through "the sources of American nationality" to the "burdens of maturity." This has been done skillfully, though for many purposes an anthology has serious limitations. No major purpose would be served by comparing this volume with its numerous competitors, but it is always timely to mention several points which are seldom developed in the brief notes an editor allows himself. It is fair to assume that Handlin considers his selections as clues to the temper and mind of both the Old World and the New, but one cannot be certain what is considered "representative." He also states, "Men of Continental cultures, unlike most visitors from Great Britain, often perceived that surface similarities concealed fundamental differences." Is it fair to inquire further whether the accounts are accurate, perhaps more accurate than contemporaneous American observers? The editor has been under some commitment to "accuracy," for he quite properly adds, "I have not been guided by reputation alone, for immediate success is not necessarily an index of accuracy of observation or pertinence of judgment." In recommending this good reading one ought to record the conviction of the editor that foreign observations are particularly significant in elucidating the "American national character." One may want to take refuge in H. G. Wells's generalization, "Our true nationality is mankind."

RICHARD H. HEINDEL, *Washington, D. C.*

FIRST FIRST LADIES, 1789-1865: A STUDY OF THE WIVES OF THE EARLY PRESIDENTS. By *Mary Ormsbee Whitton*. (New York, Hastings House, 1948, pp. x, 341, \$5.00.) It is going on seventy years since Laura C. Holloway [Langford] put



the presidents' womenfolk between the covers of one book in *The Ladies of the White House* (1882). Now, in *First First Ladies*, Mary Ormsbee Whitton presents most of the same women in a series of briefer, more perceptive, and more informative essays, some of them leavened by unfamiliar material from newspapers and manuscripts. The author concerns herself mainly with presidential wives, whether or not they ever occupied the presidential mansion, and so she includes Jefferson's Martha and Jackson's Rachel and Van Buren's Hannah but excludes such real mistresses of the White House as Emily Donelson and Angelica Van Buren (the president's daughter-in-law). Part of her purpose, she says, is to rescue some of the little-known first ladies from the oblivion to which Victorian notions of propriety once consigned them. Certainly the biographers of the presidents, with a few notable exceptions, such as Roy F. Nichols in his life of Pierce, have done little to help. Mary Ormsbee Whitton makes the most of the bare scraps of information available about her more obscure subjects, Elizabeth Monroe for instance, and she presents deft and sometimes revealing sketches of the better-known women. Nevertheless, this reviewer suspects, the reader's chief interest in her book will lie, ironically enough, in the reflected light it throws upon the men involved. Some of them come off worse than they are customarily pictured. Jefferson, interested much less in the rights of woman than in the rights of man, contributed to his wife's untimely death, which was due in part to excessive child-bearing. Polk was something of an egomaniac whose widow devoted many years to carrying out the terms of his will intended to establish a perpetual shrine in his honor. But others, especially Buchanan, are seen in a more attractive light than usual. That cautious politician, stuffy and stilted in his public appearances, unbent and became a humorous, understanding, and altogether delightful person in his relationships with his niece, ward, political confidante, and presiding hostess, the incomparable Harriet Lane.

RICHARD N. CURRENT, *Mills College*

BALTIMORE AND EARLY PAN-AMERICANISM: A STUDY IN THE BACKGROUND OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE. By *Laura Bornholdt*. [Smith College Studies in History, Volume XXXIV.] (Northampton, the College, 1949, pp. vii, 152.) This monograph, a doctoral dissertation elaborated, falls into a special category among studies in international relations. The author cites as "one of the unexplained phenomena of our national history" the "sudden rise and equally sudden collapse of enthusiasm for the peoples of Mexico and South America at the time of their separation from Spain." Dr. Bornholdt advances the suggestion that, in order to ascertain what the people of the United States were really thinking, in these years, about their "southern brethren," one may profitably proceed by examining the sentiments of particular communities in this country. The city of Baltimore, a seaport marked by astounding increase in population and in wealth, a place much given to privateering, a refuge for political exiles, and a natural center for propaganda, seems to offer the best locality where such a scrutiny of opinion may be begun. Dr. Bornholdt's essay, which gives evidence of wide reading, is based predominantly on a concentrated searching of the Baltimore newspapers. The result of the investigation is the conclusion that Baltimore's interest in Hispanic America was more noisy than deep. Devoting a chapter to every two or three years, successively, in the period 1810-1825, Dr. Bornholdt describes the press of Baltimore as reflecting the self-interest of individuals and groups, both on the part of the agents, official or self-constituted, of the revolutionary governments, and on the part of the editors and propagandists of Baltimore. There was not a genuine, fixed, informed popular opinion. It would be useful to have similar studies of other cities—of New Orleans, for example. While not intended



to be a chapter in the evolution of Baltimore, Dr. Bornholdt's essay will be useful to future historians who write of that city.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT, *Chevy Chase, Maryland*

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## NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

THE LIFE AND DIARY OF DAVID BRAINERD. Edited by *Jonathan Edwards*. Newly Edited, and with a Biographical Sketch of President Edwards by *Philip E. Howard, Jr.* [The Wycliffe Series of Christian Classics.] (Chicago, Moody Press, 1949, pp. 385, \$3.50.) David Brainerd, Connecticut-born Puritan, preached during the years 1743-47 to the Indians in western Massachusetts, central New Jersey, and eastern Pennsylvania. Afflicted by symptoms of consumption while still a student at Yale, Brainerd literally drove himself into the grave at the age of twenty-nine. Fully conscious of his weak physical state, he felt the call to wrestle with the heathen for the Kingdom of Christ and was impelled to travel thousands of miles yearly, on foot or horseback, living sometimes on a scanty diet of boiled corn, sleeping in Indian huts, on a bundle of straw, in a corn crib, and often in the woods in rain and cold. Brainerd's congregations varied in size from a half-dozen persons to more than a hundred. At one time he admitted twenty-three tested converts to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Paid by the Honorable Society (Scotland) for Propagating Christian Knowledge, Brainerd diverted no small part of his modest stipend to private charity. The results of such missionary work among the Indians cannot be measured. However much or little Brainerd may have helped a few Indians two hundred years ago, the new edition of his *Diary and Journal* is important even today. This inspiring book is one which, as its jacket truly states, no Christian can read and wholly forget. Brainerd's example is valuable in our day of spiritual need. To some of us, far removed from the intellectual climate of eighteenth century New England, Brainerd's writings may appear verbose and morbid. The original editor, Jonathan Edwards, said that his friend David was a little prone to melancholy and dejection of spirit. But his spirit was, beyond question, utterly sincere, and unconquerable by the trials of this world. "Thus I saw," wrote Brainerd shortly before his death, "that when a soul loves God with a supreme love, he therein acts like the blessed God Himself." Mr. Howard's editing is pleasingly unobtrusive; his brief sketch of the famous Jonathan Edwards, refreshingly free from unnecessary data, is masterful. This book is a worthy addition to the "Wycliffe Series of Christian Classics."

JARVIS M. MORSE, *Washington, D. C.*

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## SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

MOBILE: HISTORY OF A SEAPORT TOWN. By *Charles Grayson Summersell*, Professor of History, University of Alabama. (University, Ala., University of Alabama Press, 1949, pp. xi, 81, \$1.00.) This brief survey gives better than an inkling of the long but victorious upward struggle of plucky old Mobile, the "Athens of the Gulf Coast," where successive generations have seen battle, murder, and pestilence, fires, hurricanes, booms, and depressions. Although favorably located with regard to a large and important hinterland, Mobile long struggled against the handicap of shallow water in "Gunstock Bay" (Mobile Bay). Retardation during the colonial and early federal period was partly due to French, Spanish, and American frontier rivalry. The rise of the cotton kingdom gave Mobile a heartening era of prosperity, somewhat outlasting the Civil War. Her history during these years is one of bustling commerce, of mellow social charm and of no mean literary activity. Mobile can, for example, boast of such competent scholars as John Lord, Hannis Taylor, Peter J. Hamilton, and many others, not the least of whom is Raphael Semmes. Reconstruction in Mobile was about as confused as it was everywhere in the South. The late seventies and a good share of the eighties saw a recession that became a well-defined depression, resulting for a time in an alarming exodus of younger Mobilians. Relief came at last when they succeeded in deepening their ship channel sufficiently to attract the larger ocean-going steamships. Commercially, Mobile progressed steadily in the twentieth century. Its development and expansion since World War II is phenomenal. Within its brief compass this study, supplied with extensive bibliography, covers a very large field. Perhaps more stress could have been laid on some aspects, such as geographic and climatic factors, and upon the place of Mobile in the tangled skein of frontier imperialism. The study would have profited by the inclusion of a modern map of the area.

JAMES D. GLUNT, *University of Florida*

FLORIDA'S FLAGLER. By *Sidney Walter Martin*, Professor of History, University of Georgia. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1949, pp. xi, 280, \$4.00.) This volume

contains a friendly, even authorized biography of Henry Morrison Flagler, robber baron extraordinary of the Gilded Age. His quintuple business career—merchandising, whiskey distilling, salt mining, John D. Rockefeller's right bower during the fighting days of the early Standard Oil, and "developer" of Florida's east coast—makes him a fit subject for serious study. Despite his title, Mr. Martin essays to analyze all phases of Flagler's career. This he has done with indifferent success. Flagler's origin and participation in the antebellum Harkness merchandising and distilling enterprises in northwest Ohio are well depicted. So are his disastrous venture into Saginaw salt mining and the importance of his Harkness family connection in leading to association with John D. Rockefeller in the petroleum business as Steven V. Harkness' representative. The analysis of Flagler's contribution to the rise of the Standard Oil is far from satisfactory. Most of this section of the book is a superficial rehash of the "authorized" version of the oil monopoly's early history and is studded with errors in detail. Aside from reference to Flagler's prominence in early rebate negotiations, his especial functions in the Standard Oil organization do not appear until he emerges as secretary of the trust. His subsequent liaison with the Western Union is ignored. His increasing preoccupation with the Florida resort business after '85 is largely unexplained, so far as it entailed withdrawal from prominence in the Standard Oil. A cooling of the Harkness clan's attitude toward him after his remarriage, and probable frustration within that organization together with large wealth must have led him like Jabez A. Bostwick to yield to the temptation to try his hand at independent promotion. As the developer of Florida's east coast he won at last, in old age, a reputation for spectacular, personal achievement. To this subject the greater portion of the book is devoted. Here, save for hotel building, excessive space is devoted to trivia which, however congenial to Floridians, has led to skeletonizing the story of a remarkable achievement in subtropical regional development. Students of business history will sigh over the colorful detail accorded the dress and social and private life of successive Flagler wives at the expense of a more rigorous description of the Flagler enterprises. The initiating phase of Flagler's activities at St. Augustine, Miami, and the extension of the East Coast Railway are best described. The business historian will be thankful for leads to the Model Land Company and Flagler investments in important newspapers and municipal utilities. The reasons for the hostility of diverse groups to Flagler are objectively discussed. Mr. Martin claims that a majority of Flagler's contemporaries approved of him and his methods and concludes that he was a "great" and a "good" man. Flagler's entrepreneurial methods are left unappraised, and his personality and character remain for the pen of a future biographer.

CHESTER McARTHUR DESTLER, *Connecticut College*

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## WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

GRANGER COUNTRY: A PICTORIAL SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE BURLINGTON RAILROAD. Edited by *Lloyd Lewis* and *Stanley Pargellis*. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1949, unpaginated, \$5.00.) In this publication the editors have attempted to portray pictorially the development of the Granger country. They have not confined themselves to railroad scenes but have included the broad economic and social development of the region served by the Burlington. The first chapter, entitled "Blizzard, Flood and Mud" portrays ox wagons, hand carts, Johnston's soldiers on their bellies packing loose snow for a trail, numerous steamboat disasters from explosions, fires, ice, and snags, and mishaps on corduroy roads through bog and over mountain. The reader is impressed with the need for better transportation. The construction and expansion of the Burlington is organized around chronology and geography starting at Chicago and expanding out across the great West, extending from Minneapolis to St. Louis and from Billings to Galveston. But, throughout, the emphasis is divided between the railroad scenes and the life and activity of the people in the area touched by the road. The early depots, bridges, trains with high smokestack engines, work gangs laying track with ties well apart and four men lifting a rail, loading freight, buffalo-shooting when the train stopped, Indian attacks, including the Little Big Horn and the Arikaree, give an idea of the dramatic material of the text. In addition there are numerous agricultural scenes—splendid farms of Illinois, sod house improvements of sandhill Nebraska, battles with grasshoppers, ranching scenes from Montana to Texas, improvements through irrigation and contour farming throughout the West, as well as pictures of the modern industrial centers in the great mid-western cities and numerous glimpses of the scenic beauty of the region. The part of the Burlington in this vast drama of improvement is suggested not only by its service of transportation but by George W. Holdrege's experiments in subhumid agri-



culture and by the distribution of improved breeds of livestock throughout the area. While an outside reader might assume that the work overdoes the services of the Burlington, one who has been long in the area can accord them more than is claimed. Students of history will miss the conveniences of an index and pagination. The attribution of the Pony Express to the Butterfield Overland Stage Company is an unchecked oversight, and the assertion that hundreds of construction workmen were killed by Indian attacks calls for evidence that the reviewer knows not of. The arrangement of the pictures sometimes suggests erroneous associations. The editors have produced a most interesting and instructive volume. They have chosen pictures of action and subjects of significance which provide a graphic reality for many historical items that would otherwise serve only to tax the memories of unwilling readers. The legends that go with the pictures are excellently written, not without humor. The suggestion that some passengers should buy an extra ticket for their feet, and the picture of a frustrated rattler recoiling before an accurately directed squirt of tobacco juice, leave pleasant memories.

J. L. SELLERS, *University of Nebraska*

HERE ROLLED THE COVERED WAGONS. By *Albert and Jane Salisbury*. (Seattle, Superior, 1948, pp. 256, \$6.75.) Pacific Northwest historical literature, like the Pacific Northwest itself, is new. Joseph Schafer became the pioneer professional historian of his area with his *History of the Pacific Northwest* in 1905. Edmond S. Meany, writing his *History of the State of Washington* in 1909, was the second craftsman to record the story of his region. The first school history of Idaho, by the present reviewer, appeared as late as 1918. In recent months there has come from the press the first ambitious attempt to provide a pictorial history of the new Northwest. The volume *Here Rolled the Covered Wagons* is an album containing 223 attractive large-page photographs of Pacific Northwest and Montana landmarks. The book has been skillfully edited by Jane Salisbury, wife of the photographer. It contains a revealing personal foreword, a selected bibliography, an index, and a brief chronological index, the whole in a strikingly attractive format. The spectator-reader will find on these ample, coated-paper pages photographs of landmarks stretching from Yellowstone National Park along the great arc of the Snake River northwestward into the state of Washington. Today United States Highway 30, displayed on inside-cover maps by the Salisburys, follows the Oregon Trail. Another chain of landmarks extends from western Montana across the Idaho Panhandle westward to Puget Sound. The present-day vacationist, traveling over United States Highway 10, traverses the historic Coeur d'Alenes, one of the world's eight billion-dollar mining districts, a scenic area featured in the present work. In this Historical Tours Collection are monuments memorializing events such as Lewis and Clark's visit to the Pacific Northwest in 1805-1806; Fort Henry, Idaho's second oldest trading post, immortalized by Washington Irving; Fort Vancouver, capital of Dr. John McLoughlin's fur-trading empire; Fort Hall, "on the Oregon Trail," a Tabard Inn for the 300,000 immigrants who passed that hostelry between 1830 and the completion of the Union Pacific in 1869. The Salisburys, husband and wife, picture maker and picture editor, deserve praise for their successful adventure in authorship. This book of landmarks will increase the pride of residents in the colorful past of their region and will prove a prized *vade mecum* to visitors from other states and lands.

CORNELIUS JAMES BROSNAN, *University of Idaho*

SIERRA-NEVADA LAKES. By *George and Bliss Hinkle*. [The American Lakes Series.] (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1949, pp. 383, \$4.00.) In method like other volumes in



the "Lakes Series," this is a regional history built around a dozen lakes of the Sierra Nevada Mountain area, in western Nevada or northeastern California. The authors are natives of the region—with which the family names of Mrs. Bliss McGlashan Hinkle are notably associated—and both also have adequate training for history writing. The book combines history with folklore—Mr. Hinkle's field—and "western story" telling. Tales of the latter variety have been bowdlerized so as not to offend either Aunt Emma or the children. The chief lakes covered include Tahoe, on the Nevada-California boundary line; Honey Lake (Roop, Larsen, Susanville area); Pyramid, Donner, Marlette, Mono, Meadow, Walker, Webber, Independence, and Gold Lakes. "Reno Junction," on the front paper map, is Hallelujah on other maps. Lillard's *Desert Challenge* is omitted from bibliography and notes for chapter 17. Governor Griswold of Nevada merits credit for the Tahoe water settlement, as Mrs. Train and Mr. Bliss for location of the Fremont canyon. Most of the lakes, as admitted, are within the Great Basin rather than the Sierra proper, and are more closely related to Nevada history than to California's. The state boundary dispute, in the main a comic opera affair, is overemphasized, and the Comstock's history overstressed in proportion to its relationship with the Sierra lakes. Chorpensing and Holladay used a mule pack saddle train for mail, not a wagon. For Nevada history, predominating in the book, perhaps the best authorities were often not used. It is, however, a highly readable account of regional history.

AUSTIN E. HUTCHESON, *University of Nevada*

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# Latin-American History

James S. Cunningham

## GENERAL

EL INTERAMERICANISMO EN MARCHA: DE BOLÍVAR Y MONROE AL ROOSEVELTIANISMO. By José Sansón-Terán. (Cambridge, Mass., University Press, 1949, pp. xxvii, 474.) In this handsomely printed and illustrated little volume a Nicaraguan diplomat provides a brief account of the development of the inter-American system. The story is limited, mainly, to an exposition of agreements arrived at in conferences and meetings, regular and extraordinary, since 1933. This record is prefaced by a still briefer summary (somewhat haphazardly based on the standard manuals of United States diplomatic history) of the history of the Monroe Doctrine and of Pan-Americanism prior to the inauguration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. A documentary appendix, approximately equal in length to the narrative, conveniently brings together the Spanish texts of a selection of inter-American conventions and resolutions. According to the author, inter-Americanism is a synthesis of the Monroe Doctrine, a United States invention, and Pan-Americanism is derived from Bolívar. Like other Pan-American enthusiasts, Sansón-Terán disregards the fact that the basis for the Liberator's idea of fraternal international co-operation was Spanish American. The growth of continental solidarity since 1933 is explained in terms of the idealism of Roosevelt, Hull, Savedra Lamas, Aranha, Padilla, and others. The conflict which has been the almost constant accompaniment of inter-American progress is largely ignored and a strong official flavor pervades the book, intensified by frequent quotation from the more optimistic and protocolary statements of diplomats and politicians. The author thumps the tub for co-operation with the United States in a supposedly "inevitable" war with Russia. It would seem, however, that the aspect of inter-Americanism which most arouses his enthusiasm is the doctrine of nonintervention. Attempts to develop a multilateral basis for implementing the declarations of democratic principles, so often repeated in conference resolutions, are waved aside as illusory. The reader will find little here to help him to understand the paradoxical growth, since 1945, of a binding, treaty-based security system in the Americas and of increasing tension, international as well as domestic, in Latin America. By reading between the lines he may discern some of the reasons for the limitations as well as the achievements of present-day inter-Americanism.

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN, *University of Wisconsin*

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## COLONIAL PERIOD

## NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

- CODRINGTON CHRONICLE: AN EXPERIMENT IN ANGLICAN ALTRUISM  
ON A BARBADOS PLANTATION, 1710-1834. Edited by Frank J. Klingberg.

(Berkeley, University of California Press, 1949, pp. vii, 157, \$3.00.) The archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel are of priceless value in the study of overseas expansion since the turn of the eighteenth century. This body's dauntless agents operating hundreds of widely scattered stations in Asia, Africa, Oceania, and the Americas normally rendered semiannual reports covering an amazing range of economic, social, and political subjects, as well as their own progress, for the information of headquarters officials in London. Such papers frequently provide our only source of information on important matters and have therefore been zealously studied by many specialists in modern colonization. Particularly rich are those covering activities in Barbados, where, under the nebulous will of Christopher Codrington, the S. P. G. came into possession of three slave-staffed plantations which were operated to finance Codrington College, a famed center for Negro education. The society's records in one form or another have been gradually assembled at the Library of Congress and, after ten years of activity, microfilm copies of the same have been made for the University of California at Los Angeles, whose Professor Frank Klingberg has long been carrying on studies in modern humanitarianism. The present volume grew out of a seminar project there involving these microfilms and, while nothing startling and little that was new was uncovered, the enterprise afforded a group of young enthusiasts profitable exercise in the use of source material. Their findings will provide convenient summaries of plantation economy and revealing glimpses of contemporary insular society for those interested in such matters. Two virgin lots of Codrington correspondence, largely from Antigua and Barbados between 1740 and 1851, were recently discovered in England. These are being offered by a British stamp dealer as interesting material for postmark study. It is hoped that they will escape dispersal into philatelists' albums and that they will be purchased by some institution, such as the University of California at Los Angeles, which appreciates their historical value.

LOWELL RAGATZ, *Ohio State University*

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NATIONAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

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- MCCRACKEN, GEORGE E., (tr.). *Arnobius of Sicca: The Case against the Pagans*. 2 vols. Ancient Christian Writers, Nos. 7, 8. Westminster, Md.: Newman Press. 1949. Pp. 372; 375-659. \$3.50, \$3.25.
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- MILLER, JOHN, JR. *Guadalcanal: The First Offensive*. United States Army in World War II: The War in the Pacific. Washington: Historical Division, Department of the Army. 1949. Pp. xviii, 413. \$4.00.
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- NOURSE, MARY A. *Ferment in the Far East: An Historical Interpretation*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1949. Pp. 336. \$3.75.
- OWSLEY, FRANK LAWRENCE. *Plain Folk of the Old South*. The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1949. Pp. xxi, 235. \$3.50.
- PADEN, IRENE D. *Prairie Schooner Detours*. New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. ix, 295. \$3.75.
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- PERRY, RALPH BARTON. *Characteristically American*. Five lectures delivered on the William W. Cook Foundation at the University of Michigan, November–December 1948. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1949. Pp. ix, 162, v. \$3.00.
- PETERSON, CHARLES E. *Colonial St. Louis: Building a Creole Capital*. St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society. 1949. Pp. v, 69.
- POLŠENSKÝ, J. V. *History of Czechoslovakia in Outline*. Prague: Sphinx Publishers. 1947. Pp. 143. Bound \$1.80, unbound \$1.50.
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- ROSS, JAMES BRUCE, and McLAUGHLIN, MARY MARTIN, (eds.). *The Portable Medieval Reader*. New York: Viking Press. 1949. Pp. xiv, 690. \$2.00.
- RUSSELL, BERTRAND. *Authority and the Individual*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1949. Pp. 79. \$2.00.
- SANFORD, LOUIS CHILDS. *The Province of the Pacific*. Philadelphia: Church Historical Society. 1949. Pp. xiii, 187. \$3.00.
- SANSÓN-TERÁN, JOSÉ. *El interamericanismo en marcha: de Bolívar y Monroe al Rooseveltianismo*. Cambridge, Mass.: University Press. 1949. Pp. xxvii, 474.
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- SCHLEGEL, MARVIN WILSON. *Virginia on Guard: Civilian Defense and the State Militia in the Second World War*. Richmond: Virginia State Library. 1949. Pp. xxiii, 286. \$3.50.
- SCHLESINGER, ARTHUR M, JR. *The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1949. Pp. x, 274. \$3.00.
- SELLEY, W. T. *England in the Eighteenth Century*. 2d ed. London: Adam and Charles Black; New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. viii, 408. \$2.75. Textbook.
- SILVER, JAMES W. *Edmund Pendleton Gaines, Frontier General*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1949. Pp. xxi, 291. \$4.50.
- SIMPSON, ELIZABETH M. *Mexico, Mother of Towns: Fragments of Local History*. Buffalo: J. W. Clement Company. 1949. Pp. 551.
- SNYDER, LOUIS L., and MORRIS, RICHARD B., (eds.). *A Treasury of Great Reporting: "Literature under Pressure" from the Sixteenth Century to Our Own Time*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1949. Pp. xxxii, 784. \$5.00.
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- STICKNEY, WILLIAM, (ed.). *Autobiography of Amos Kendall*. New York: Peter Smith. 1949. Pp. 700. \$7.50. Reprint (micro-offset).
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- THOMPSON, A. HAMILTON. *The Abbey of St. Mary of the Meadows, Leicester*. Leicester: Edgar Backus for Leicestershire Archaeological Society. 1949. Pp. 274. 21s.
- THOMSON, GEORGE. *Studies in Ancient Greek Society: The Prehistoric Aegean*. New York: International Publishers. 1949. Pp. 622. \$10.00.
- THORNE, SAMUEL E., (ed.). *Prerogativa Regis: Tertia Lectura Roberti Constable de Lyncolnis inne anno 11 H. 7*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1949. Pp. li, 165. \$5.00.
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- TROLLOPE, FRANCES. *Domestic Manners of the Americans*. Edited, with a History of Mrs. Trollope's Adventures in America, by DONALD SMALLEY. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1949. Pp. lxxxiii, 454, xix. \$5.00.
- TULLY, GRACE. *F.D.R., My Boss*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1949. Pp. xiii, 391. \$3.50.
- TURNBULL, ARCHIBALD D., and LORD, CLIFFORD L. *History of United States Naval Aviation*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1949. Pp. xii, 345. \$5.00.
- TYLER, MOSES COIT. *A History of American Literature, 1607-1765*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1949. Pp. xxxiii, 551. \$6.00. Reissue (originally pub. 1878 by G. P. Putnam's Sons).
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- VAUGHAN, ELIZABETH HEAD. *Community under Stress: An Internment Camp Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1949. Pp. xv, 160. \$2.50.
- VENABLE, W. H. *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley: Historical and Biographical Sketches*. New York: Peter Smith. 1949. Pp. xv, 519. \$7.50. Reprint (micro-offset).
- VIERECK, PETER. *Conservatism Revisited: The Revolt against Revolt, 1815-1949*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1949. Pp. xv, 187. \$2.50.
- WACE, ALAN J. B. *Mycenae: An Archaeological History and Guide*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1949. Pp. xviii, 150, plates. \$15.00.
- WARREN, SIDNEY. *Farthest Frontier: The Pacific Northwest*. New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. ix, 375. \$4.50.
- Webster's Geographical Dictionary: A Dictionary of Names of Places with Geographical and Historical Information and Pronunciations*. Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Company. 1949. Pp. xxxi, 1293, maps. \$8.50.
- WECTER, DIXON, et al. *Changing Patterns in American Civilization*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 176. \$2.50.
- WELLMAN, MANLY WADE. *Giant in Gray: A Biography of Wade Hampton of South Carolina*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1949. Pp. xv, 387. \$5.00.
- WENDELL, MITCHELL. *Relations between the Federal and State Courts*. Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 555. New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. 298. \$4.00.
- WHEARE, K. C. *Abraham Lincoln and the United States*. Teach Yourself History Library. New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. xiv, 286. \$2.00.
- WHEAT, CARL I., (ed.). *The Shirley Letters, from the California Mines, 1851-1852*. Western Americana. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1949. Pp. xxix, 216. \$3.50.
- WHITE, LESLIE A. *The Science of Culture: A Study of Man and Civilization*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Company. 1949. Pp. xx, 444. \$6.00.
- WHITE, MORTON G. *Social Thought in America: The Revolt against Formalism*. New York: Viking Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 260. \$3.50.
- WHITRIDGE, ARNOLD. *Men in Crisis: The Revolutions of 1848*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1949. Pp. 364. \$5.00.
- WIENER, PHILIP P. *Evolution and the Founders of Pragmatism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. xiv, 288. \$5.00.
- WILLIAMS, KENNETH P. *Lincoln Finds a General: A Military Study of the Civil War*. 2 vols. New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. xviii, 443; ix, 445-902. \$12.50.

- WINKLER, ERNEST W., (ed.). *Check List of Texas Imprints, 1846-1860*. Austin: Texas State Historical Association. 1949. Pp. xx, 352. \$12.50.
- WISCHNITZER, MARK. *To Dwell in Safety: The Story of Jewish Migration since 1800*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1948. Pp. xxv, 368. \$4.00.
- WOJCIECHOWSKI, ZYGMUNT. *L'État polonais au moyen-âge: histoire des institutions*. Bibliothèque d'Histoire du Droit, Pub. no. 7. Paris: Recueil Sirey. 1949. Pp. 365.
- YANAGA, CHITOSHI. *Japan since Perry*. McGraw-Hill Series in History. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1949. Pp. x, 723. \$6.00.
- YAVIS, CONSTANTINE G. *Greek Altars: Origins and Typology, including the Minoan-Mycenaean Offertory Apparatus: An Archaeological Study in the History of Religion*. St. Louis University Studies, Monograph Series: Humanities, No. 1. St. Louis: St. Louis University Press. 1949. Pp. xxiii, 266, plates. Cloth \$6.00, paper \$5.00.
- Yearbook of the United Nations, 1947-48*. Lake Success, N. Y.: Department of Public Information, United Nations. 1949. Pp. xix, 1126. \$12.50.

# \* \* \* \* *Historical News* \* \* \* \*

## American Historical Association

The attention of the members is called to the fact that the committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund will finance the publication of books of mature scholarship which make a distinct contribution to knowledge in any field of history. Ordinarily doctoral dissertations or works of more than one volume will not be considered. Manuscripts must be submitted to the chairman, Professor Ray A. Billington, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, before April 1, 1950.

Members of the American Historical Association planning to attend the International Historical Congress in Paris, August 28–September 3, 1950, may be interested in the possibility of a reduced fare by air for a party of eleven. Inquiries should be addressed to Professor Donald C. McKay, 127 Littauer Center, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

## Other Historical Activities

The Library of Congress has recently received microfilm copies of two groups of foreign archival material relating to nineteenth century American history. One, contained in twenty-one volumes in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris, consists of correspondence of the ministry with United States diplomatic agents in France and with French ministers to the United States, 1830–48. The other, a file of twenty-three volumes of Foreign Office records in the British Public Record Office, contains correspondence of the Foreign Office with British agents in the Republic of Texas, 1840–48, and with Texan agents in England, 1844–45. Recently acquired original material includes a large body of valuable biographical data, some of it unpublished, and related correspondence selected by permission of the American Council of Learned Societies from the records of the *Dictionary of American Biography*. The Thomas J. Walsh papers are now available for use in the Library by qualified scholars, and special restrictions on the use of the Gouverneur Morris papers have been removed.

An analytical and selective guide to the more important newspapers and periodicals of twenty-five European countries has recently been issued by the Library of Congress. Entitled *The European Press Today*, the study was prepared by Harry J. Krould, chief of the Library's European Affairs Division, in response to requests from government officials, institutions of research and higher learning, and individual scholars.

Students of European history, especially of northern Europe and the Baltic area,

will be interested in the following items from the *UNESCO World Review* of August 27: "Valuable documents and letters written by famous men such as Calvin, Luther, Melanchton, Copernicus and Lucas Cranach have recently been discovered in the ancient imperial city of Goslar in Northern Germany. Two hundred tons of historical documents covering six centuries of history and comprising 4,500 parchment manuscripts have been collected under the supervision of the British occupation forces. They include the archives of the Order of Teutonic Knights (1190-1526) and those of the ancient Dukedom of Prussia as well as correspondence between the kings of Spain, France, England, Denmark, and Sweden, archives from the Vatican and the various church synods."

The Australian Commonwealth National Library, Canberra, and the Mitchell Library, Sydney, are co-operating in making microfilm copies of all Australian historical documents in the Public Record Office, London. In the first nine months workers at the record office have photographed 231 volumes of official papers, using 10,000 feet of film. It is hoped to complete 2,000 volumes in five years. Later the project may be extended to cover papers relating to Australia from other parts of the world as well as papers relating to New Zealand, Fiji, and the western Pacific.

Discerning readers of the list of "Books Received" in the *Review* may have noticed the appearance from time to time of old and familiar titles accompanied by references to reviews in the *American Historical Review* at the time the volumes appeared. These titles represent out-of-print works heretofore obtainable only at high prices, if at all. At the risk of trespassing on the advertising department's domain, it seems worth while to gather in one paragraph some recent reprints from the house of Peter Smith, 321 Fifth Avenue, New York 16. Here they are: *A Guide to Historical Literature*, edited by George M. Dutcher, *et al.* (\$12.50); *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, by G. P. Gooch (\$7.50); *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, by Griffith J. McRee (2 vols. bound in one; micro-offset; \$10.00); *Expansionists of 1812*, by Julius W. Pratt (\$3.25); *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, by Sir Leslie Stephen (2 vols.; 3d ed.; \$12.50); *Autobiography of Amos Kendall*, edited by William Stickney (micro-offset; \$7.50); *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley: Historical and Biographical Sketches*, by W. H. Venable (micro-offset; \$7.50). The reproduction and binding make these as sturdy and easy to use as the original volumes. Mention should also be made of the recent reissue, by the Cornell University Press, of *A History of American Literature, 1607-1765*, by Moses Coit Tyler, a work originally published by G. P. Putnam's Sons in 1878. The Cornell Press plans to reissue, in the near future, the same author's later work, *The Literary History of the American Revolution, 1763-1783*.

The *Yearbook of the United Nations, 1947-1948*, recently published by the

United Nations Department of Public Information, is the second in the series designed to present to the public an account of the activities and accomplishments of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. Covering the period from June 30, 1947, to September 21, 1948, this *Yearbook*, in addition to brief historical summaries and descriptions of functions, organization, and work of the United Nations and all its parts, includes maps, charts, documentary annexes, a bibliography, a "Who's Who" of persons connected with the United Nations, and an index. The volume runs to 1126 pages and sells for \$12.50. The sales agent in the United States is the International Documents Service of the Columbia University Press.

After suspending publication during the war and postwar years, the *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* has resumed publication. In its more than a century of existence its articles, edited documents, reviews, and bibliographies have made it an indispensable aid to medieval scholars. The editors hope to continue its wide coverage and ask that books and other material for its review columns be sent to them (F. Baethgen or W. Holtzmann) in care of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Pommersfeldern, Bavaria (U. S. Zone).

The *Sammlung Schweizerischer Rechtsquellen*, begun in 1896, now comprises thirty-one volumes covering the sources for the legal history of nine cantons. It contains valuable material for the historian of law with sidelights for the student of general history and culture. It is sponsored by the Swiss Bar Association, and inquiries as to complete sets or single volumes may be addressed to their representative, E. G. Savernik, c/o Swiss Bank Corporation, 15 Nassau Street, New York 5, New York.

Early in 1950 Princeton University Press will publish for the University of Cincinnati a series of four extensively illustrated volumes, each in two parts, reporting the finds made in the excavation of ancient Troy. The excavation, most extensive since discovery of the site by the German archaeologist, Heinrich Schliemann, eighty years ago, was conducted by the University of Cincinnati between 1932 and 1938 under the direction of Professor Carl Blegen, who is editor-in-chief of the volumes as well as of the supplementary monographs on special topics.

The first issue of an interesting new historical publication, *American Heritage*, has appeared under the editorship of Earle Newton and the sponsorship of the American Association for State and Local History. The first issue with its colored illustrations sets a high standard. It will appear quarterly. The subscription price is \$3.00. The editor's office is in the State House, Montpelier, Vermont.

Beginning with Volume III, No. 1, the San Jacinto Museum of History Association will sponsor the publication *Tlalocan*, a journal of source materials on the

native cultures of Mexico, published by La Casa de Tlaloc, Azcapotzalco, Mexico, D. F. All institutions in the United States interested in receiving *Tlalocan* on an exchange basis are requested to communicate with the San Jacinto Museum of History Association, San Jacinto Monument, Texas.

The World War II History Division of the Virginia State Library (Richmond) has published *Virginia on Guard: Civilian Defense and the State Militia in the Second World War*, by Marvin Wilson Schlegel. This is the second major publication of Virginia's war history agency, which is one of the few state war history offices now active.

A survey of the records of the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina is being made by William S. Powell, researcher of the State Department of Archives and History in Raleigh, North Carolina. Persons having information about episcopal churches in North Carolina, either still in existence or defunct, are asked to communicate with Mr. Powell.

Under the auspices of the Academy of Historical Sciences of Monterrey, the American Historical Association, and the National Institute of Anthropology and History of Mexico City, the First Congress of Historians of Mexico and the United States was held at Monterrey from September 4 to 9, 1949. The Congress was a unique experiment in international relations on a high intellectual plane, and it turned out to be a rewarding and enjoyable experience. About 150 delegates were in attendance, nearly half of them from the United States.

Papers on the teaching of history, the preservation and organization of historical source materials, on economic, intellectual, and literary history, on the development of the land systems in the two countries, and on the frontier provinces were read by Rafael García Granados, William H. Cartwright, J. Ignacio Rubio Mañé, Ildefonso Villarello, Antonio Pompa y Pompa, Luther H. Evans, Jorge Espinosa de los Reyes, Edward Kirkland, John Higham, Leopoldo Zea, Stow Persons, José Luis Martínez, Josefina Niggli, Lucio Mendieta y Núñez, Paul W. Gates, Merle Curti, Alfonso Reyes, Vito Alessio Robles, and Lyle Saunders. The program was on the whole worked out intelligently, and everybody had a chance to express himself, either through the reading of a paper or more extemporaneously during one of the discussion periods. A report of the proceedings of the Congress will later be printed and published.

There were also many extracurricular activities, and these contributed immeasurably to the success of the Congress. The governor of Coahuila, the Monterrey service clubs, and the management of the Monterrey brewery were hosts to the delegates at lavish banquets. The United States ambassador to Mexico and the American consul-general in Monterrey gave a reception. The ladies of Monterrey received the female contingent of the Congress at a high tea, or *merienda*. Book



exhibits and an exhibition of Indian crafts were arranged at the University of Nuevo León. Gonzalo Obregón gave an illustrated lecture on Mexican art. The two principal American journals in the field of Latin-American history, the *Hispanic American Historical Review* and the *Americas*, dedicated their current issues to the Congress. Complimentary copies of a number of books were distributed. A group excursion was taken to Saltillo. The archbishop of Monterrey celebrated mass in honor of the *Congresistas*.

It is hardly necessary to add that the Congress was made possible by the combined efforts of many people and that all deserve a word of thanks. First in order are Lewis Hanke, Carlos Pérez Maldonado, and Silvio Zavala, the efficient and enthusiastic organizers of the Congress. Mr. Pérez Maldonado also shouldered the duties of general secretary, assisted by Carlos E. Castañeda as general *rapporteur* and by Manoel Cardozo and William Griffith as assistant general *rapporteurs*. The Congress had the blessing of the president of Mexico and the United States ambassador to Mexico, both of whom served on the honorary committee, and of Secretary of State Acheson, who sent a message. The American Historical Association appointed a committee, composed of Merle Curti, Peter M. Dunne, Guy Stanton Ford, Charles W. Hackett, Lewis Hanke, Clarence H. Haring, James F. King, John Tate Lanning, Samuel Eliot Morison, Max Savelle, France V. Scholes, Frank Tannenbaum, and Arthur P. Whitaker, to plan for the Congress. A number of institutions in the United States and Mexico as well as several private benefactors, among the latter Mr. George A. Hill, jr., of Houston, generously helped to defray the expenses. American colleges and universities, from New England to the Pacific Coast, sent representatives. The Technological Institute of Monterrey placed its facilities at the disposal of the Congress, as did the University of Nuevo León and the Public Library of Saltillo.

The delegates voted unanimously in favor of holding a second congress at a convenient time in the near future. They also approved the appointment of an executive committee for the next congress to be made up of a representative from each of the three sponsoring institutions and of another from the institution willing to serve as host. It now remains for the American Historical Association, together with the Academy of Historical Sciences of Monterrey and the National Institute of Anthropology and History of Mexico City, to take the next step.

A feature of the Congress of Historians at Monterrey was the formal presentation of portraits of Francis Parkman and Frederick Jackson Turner for the portrait gallery of distinguished historians of the Americas which is being assembled in Mexico City by the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History to the chairman of the Commission, Dr. Silvio Zavala. The ceremony took place at Monterrey at a luncheon given by the Cervecería Cuahutemoc on September 9 for the delegates and their families. The Parkman portrait was presented by Professor Clarence H. Haring on behalf of its donor,

the Colonial Society of Massachusetts; the Turner portrait by Professor Merle Curti, on behalf of a group of donors identified as "Friends of Frederick Jackson Turner." Brief addresses were made by Professors Haring and Curti, and also by Dr. Zavala, Mr. Philip Raine, cultural relations officer of the American embassy in Mexico, and Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, United States national member of the Commission on History, who also read a statement by Dr. Guy Stanton Ford, executive secretary of the American Historical Association, certifying the selection of Parkman and Turner by the Council of the Association to represent the United States in this portrait gallery. Each guest received a copy of an essay on Turner written especially for this occasion by Professor Curti and published in pamphlet form by the Commission on History. While the supply lasts, copies of this essay may be obtained by writing the Commission at its headquarters, Avenida del Observatorio 192, Tacubaya, D. F. Mexico.

A three-day Anglo-American conference of historians was held at the Institute of Historical Research in London during July. At the general meetings papers were read by Admiral Richard L. Conolly on "The Strategy of the War in the Pacific" and by Professor C. H. McIlwain on "Sovereignty in the Modern World." The Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (Sir Charles Hilary Jenkinson) enunciated the factors governing the new policy regarding the "Publications of the Public Record Office" and Professors J. G. Edwards (London) and D. H. Willson (Minnesota) initiated a discussion on "Postgraduate Historical Training." There were also a number of important addresses in the sectional meetings of the conference. About two hundred and fifty historians, including some forty Americans, attended. The director of the Institute, Professor J. G. Edwards, was appointed chairman of the Anglo-American Historical Committee for 1949-50. A two day conference will again be held in London on July 14-15, 1950, and it is hoped to arrange a full conference lasting a week in the summer of 1951.

The Naval Historical Foundation held its twenty-third annual meeting on November 18 at the Army-Navy Club in Washington. Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy, United States Navy, former presidential chief of staff, was elected president. Newly elected trustees are: Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King; Ferdinand Eberstadt, New York banker and member of the Hoover Commission; Irving S. Olds, chairman of the board of the United States Steel Corporation; Roger Williams, a director of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company; Vice Admiral John F. Shafroth, recently retired president of the Navy Department's general board; Captain Marion Eppley; Captain Walter Karig; and Captain Ralph Parker. Re-elected trustees are: Commodore Dudley W. Knox, Samuel Eliot Morison, Colonel Jarvis Butler, Captain Charles Bittinger, Captain J. T. G. Stapler, and Commander M. V. Brewington.

The International Congress of Americanists held its twenty-ninth meeting in New York, September 5-12. The American Historical Association was one of the sponsors. Included in the interesting program on the art, archaeology, ethnology, anthropology, and culture of the Americas were the following more definitely historical papers: George M. Foster, "The Sixteenth Century Spanish Background of Contemporary Hispanic-American Culture"; Harold E. Davis, "Racial and Cultural Elements in the Formation of Nationality. Latin America: Some Suggestions for Research"; Herminio Portell Vilá, "Cuban-American Relations at the Time of the War of Independence"; John Perry Pritchett, "Historical Aspects of the Canadian Métis." Papers read at the Congress will appear in the published proceedings under the editorship of Professor Sol Tax, University of Chicago.

The second annual Canadian-American seminar on foreign affairs, which meets in alternate years in Canada, was held at the University of North Dakota on May 27-29. Participants included members of the history, anthropology, and economics departments of the university and members of the faculty of the University of Manitoba as well as leaders of the Manitoba adult education movement.

A conference on problems of modern France will be held at Princeton, New Jersey, February 1-4. Sponsors are the Committee on International and Regional Studies of Harvard University, the Institute of International Studies of Yale University, the School of International Affairs of Columbia University, the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs of Princeton University, and the School of Historical Studies of the Institute for Advanced Study. The general purposes of the conference are to bring together American scholars professionally interested in problems of modern France and to consider ways and means for the further development of French studies in the United States. Attendance at the conference will be by invitation only to some fifty historians and political scientists. Edward Mead Earle of the Institute for Advanced Study is serving as temporary chairman.

The First International Congress on Archives, organized by the International Council on Archives, the National Archives of France, and the Association of Professional Archivists of France, will be held in Paris August 23-26, 1950. These dates have been chosen so that the members of the congress may take part in the meeting of the International Congress of Historical Sciences which opens on August 28. Inquiries may be directed to Oliver W. Holmes, National Archives, Washington 25, D. C.

On November 1 President Truman signed a bill creating a National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States. The National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings promoted the legislation and is taking steps to organize the

National Trust and select its trustees. The primary purpose of the National Trust will be to facilitate public participation in the preservation of sites, buildings, and objects of national significance or interest. It will encourage preservation on every level—national, regional, state, and local. It is also empowered to receive and administer for the public benefit buildings and sites worthy of permanent preservation which may be presented to it. The National Trust will be a charitable, educational, and nonprofit corporation; no funds were requested from the Congress in the bill creating it. It will be supported by private donations of money, securities, or other property received for the purpose of carrying out the program of preservation and will be administered under the general direction of a board of trustees. The board will be composed of the Attorney General of the United States, the Secretary of the Interior, and the director of the National Gallery of Art, in addition to not less than six American citizens chosen by the executive board of the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings. These trustees, who will be nationally prominent men and women, will be chosen in the near future. The National Trust bill was sponsored by the Department of the Interior through its National Park Service in order to further the policy enunciated in the Historic Sites Act of 1935. The provisions of the bill were based on a report made by a special committee of the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings appointed by General U. S. Grant III, its president. Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, of Wyoming, chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, and Representative J. Hardin Peterson, of Florida, chairman of the Public Lands Committee, guided the bill through the Congress.

Among the forty-one American recipients of awards under the Fulbright Act (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, April, 1949, p. 774) are the following scholars in history and related fields: Wilfred E. Binkley, Ohio Northern University, to serve as visiting lecturer in political science at Oxford University; Sidney Warren, University of Florida, to serve as visiting lecturer in American history at the University of Durham, England; Robert S. Hoyt, State University of Iowa, to undertake research in medieval English history at the University of Manchester; Richard Schlatter, Rutgers University, to serve as visiting professor of history at the University of Liverpool, and, in addition, to study the life and writings of Richard Baxter, seventeenth century Puritan leader; W. Turrentine Jackson, University of Chicago, to serve as visiting lecturer in American history at the University of Glasgow and to study the economic relationship between citizens of Scotland and England and the development of the American trans-Mississippi West; James W. Silver, University of Mississippi, to serve as visiting lecturer in frontier American history and Southern American history at the University of Aberdeen, Scotland.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture announces that it is prepared to provide a limited number of grants-in-aid of research to individual writ-

ers or scholars who are carrying on studies in the field of American history prior to the year 1815. For encouragement of projects already in progress, in the social, political, economic, religious, artistic, and intellectual history of the American colonies and of the early republic, the institute is ready to make grants varying in value according to the needs of the individual during the period for which the grant is made, and with the understanding that the recipient shall devote his entire energies to the project during that time. Ordinarily grants will not exceed \$1,000. Candidates must file their applications not later than March 15, 1950. Announcement of awards will be made May 15, 1950. Requests for application forms and other information should be addressed to the Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Goodwin Building, Williamsburg, Virginia.

The trustees of the Huntington Library have announced the allocation of a considerable sum, on a year-by-year basis, for fellowships and grants-in-aid. Under this policy, beginning with the year 1950, two senior fellowships of \$7,500 each and three junior fellowships of \$4,000 each will be available to properly qualified scholars. Smaller amounts will also be available to applicants for grants-in-aid. Applications should be addressed to the Chairman of the Fellowship Committee, Huntington Library, San Marino 15, California, not later than March 1, 1950.

The Business History Foundation, established in 1947 as a research institution to carry on independent studies in its field, has just issued a pamphlet setting forth its purpose and procedures and giving examples of what it has done and is doing. This includes limited grants-in-aid for publications in business history. N. S. B. Gras is president and treasurer of the Foundation, Henrietta Larson is executive vice-president and secretary, and staff members include Kenneth W. Porter, Charles S. Popple, and Ralph W. Hidy. Those interested may obtain the pamphlet by addressing the Foundation, P. O. Box 255, Forest Hills, New York.

The United States Civil Service Commission has announced examinations for historian, foreign affairs officer, and social science analyst. The positions to be filled from these examinations are research positions in a wide variety of specialized fields. They are located in various federal agencies in Washington, D. C., and vicinity, and pay salaries from \$7,600 to \$10,000 a year. Information may be obtained from most post offices, from civil service regional offices, or from the U. S. Civil Service Commission, Washington 25, D. C.

The American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council have established a joint committee on Southern Asia for the purpose of appraising American studies relating to India, Pakistan, and Southeast Asia and making plans for their further development. Southern Asia is understood as the area from the Pamirs to the Pacific, comprising Afghanistan, Pakistan, India,

Nepal, Bhutan, Ceylon, Burma, Indochina, Siam, Malaya, Indonesia, and the Philippines. For its first project the joint committee has undertaken to survey the present status of Southern Asia studies in the United States in terms of immediate and future resources and needs. Members of the committee for 1949-50 are W. Norman Brown, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Kingsley Davis, Columbia University; Franklin Edgerton, Yale; John F. Embree, Yale; Holden Furber, Pennsylvania; David G. Mandelbaum, University of California, with Murray B. Emeneau as alternate; Horace I. Poleman, Library of Congress; and Lauriston Sharp, Cornell, with Morris E. Opler as alternate. Scholars or other persons desiring to bring any matter to the attention of the joint committee may address communications to Alice Thorner, Executive Secretary, Box 17, Bennett Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania.

Intensive courses in archives administration, the preservation and interpretation of historic sites and buildings, and genealogical research will be offered by the American University, Washington, D. C., as a part of its summer session beginning June 12, 1950. Organizations co-operating in one or more of the courses include the Library of Congress, the National Archives, the National Park Service, the Maryland Hall of Records, and Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.

At the Institute for Advanced Study the School of Humanistic Studies and the School of Economics and Politics have been merged into a single school to be called the School of Historical Studies.

## *Personal*

### APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

The Harmsworth professorship of American history in Oxford University is held this year by Merrill Jensen of the University of Wisconsin. He had earlier been awarded a Fulbright fellowship.

Philip G. Hoffman has been appointed professor of history and Peter E. Brownback and John S. Pancake have been appointed instructors in history in the University of Alabama.

At Alabama College, Montevallo, the history and sociology departments have been combined into a social science division with Hallie Farmer, former head of the history department, as head of the division. Sidney A. Forsythe and Murray C. Flynn have been promoted to assistant professors in the division.

Felix E. Hirsch, professor of history at Bard College, was invited by the In-

formation Service Division of OMGUS to give eighteen lectures in United States information centers throughout the American zone of Germany. He also spoke at the universities of Göttingen (about German foreign policy between the two world wars), Heidelberg (about Gustav Stresemann's personality), and Munich (about historiography and historical training in the United States).

Fred A. Crane is now on the staff of the department of history at Bard College.

After twenty-six years as professor of history and chairman of the department of history and government at Beaver College, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania, Mary P. Clarke has retired and has returned to her home town, Lawrence, Kansas.

Richard O. Cummings, formerly of the University of California, Los Angeles, has gone to Brooklyn College as assistant professor of history.

Edward F. Blount has joined the department of history at Capital University.

Otakar Odlozilik has been appointed visiting professor of history at Columbia University.

The department of history of the East Tennessee State College announces that Leslie G. Hill and Frank B. Williams, jr., have joined the staff as assistant professors. Mrs. Dorothy T. Walker has been appointed acting instructor in history, and Robert G. Crawford, assistant professor, is on leave doing graduate work in the University of Kentucky.

Elisha P. Douglass has joined the department of history at Elon College.

John Meng, formerly of Queens College, is now professor of history in Hunter College.

Herbert H. Butterfield, professor of modern history at the University of Cambridge and fellow of Peterhouse, and Pieter Geyl, professor of modern history at the University of Utrecht, have both been in residence at the Institute for Advanced Study during the autumn term of 1949-50.

William E. Sawyer, associate professor of history at Clarkson College of Technology since 1943, became professor and head of the department of history and social sciences at Kentucky Wesleyan College on September 1, 1949.

The University of Maryland has assumed responsibility for the undergraduate instruction of military and civilian personnel in the occupied areas of Germany.



This has necessitated the sending of two history staff members abroad for the year. Verne E. Chatelain and David S. Sparks have received these assignments, and their university duties have been temporarily assigned to R. Justus Hanks, doctoral candidate of the University of Chicago, and Cynthia Cotcher, whose graduate study was done at Radcliffe College.

Marie Boas and Jess G. Carnes have been appointed instructors in the department of history and sociology of the University of Massachusetts.

The department of history of the University of Michigan reports the promotion in July, 1949, of H. M. Ehrmann from associate to full professor.

Mississippi State College announces the promotion of Glover Moore to acting professor of history and the appointments of James H. McLendon as assistant professor of history and of Robert A. Brent as instructor in history and government. F. V. McMillen, instructor in history, is on leave to complete his doctorate at the University of Texas.

Benjamin Sacks, professor of history in the University of New Mexico, is on sabbatical leave during the current academic year and is studying the life and policies of Ramsay MacDonald. George Winston Smith, formerly of the University of Illinois, and John E. Longhurst, formerly of the University of Michigan, have been appointed to assistant professorships in the University of New Mexico.

In New York University Henry B. Parkes has been promoted to professor of history and A. William Salomone to associate professor of history.

John Parker has taken the place of Robert L. Kirkpatrick as instructor of history in the University of North Dakota. The latter is studying at Keble College, Oxford, on a Rhodes Scholarship.

Dewey W. Grantham, jr., has accepted a position as assistant professor of history in North Texas State College.

Howard F. Cline, formerly of Yale University, has accepted an appointment as assistant professor of history at Northwestern University. Anthony N. B. Garvan has been appointed a postdoctoral fellow in American civilization in the same institution.

The University of Notre Dame announces the following promotions in the department of history: Rev. Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., head of the department, to full professor, William O. Shanahan and Gerhardt B. Ladner to associate profes-

sors, John J. Hooker to assistant professor, and Richard Kilmer to instructor. Vincent De Santis has been appointed instructor in American history.

The department of history of the University of Oregon announces the promotions of Gordon Wright to full professor and of Paul S. Dull to associate professor of history and political science. Earl S. Pomeroy, formerly of Ohio State University, has been appointed associate professor to succeed the late John T. Ganoe, and Edwin R. Bingham, formerly of the University of California at Los Angeles, has been appointed instructor.

On November 8 and 10, Felix M. Keesing of Stanford University delivered two Condon Lectures at Oregon State College, "Pacific Islanders: Past and Present" and "Pacific Islanders: Problems of Today."

Wallace E. Davies has been appointed assistant professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania.

Enrique Lugo-Silva, formerly assistant professor of history in the University of New Mexico, is now on the staff of the Politechnic Institute of Puerto Rico.

Vincent H. Learnihan has been appointed instructor in history at Pomona College.

Elizabeth Brush has retired from active teaching in the department of history of Rockford College. Isabel Abbott has been named chairman of the department, and Ruth Victoria Miller, formerly of Vassar and Hunter colleges, has joined the staff as assistant professor of history.

Richard Hooker has been promoted to professor and Helmut Hirsch to associate professor of history in Roosevelt College.

At Rutgers University Peter Charanis has been promoted to professor of history and Sydney H. Zebel to associate professor of history. Anna M. Campbell, associate professor of history, New Jersey College for Women, Rutgers University, has been retired to emeritus status after twenty-two years of service.

Nicholas Amato, formerly of the University of Notre Dame, has accepted an instructorship in the department of history in St. Bonaventure University, Olean, New York.

Charles E. Perry, professor of history in St. John's University, Shanghai, China, has been appointed visiting professor of history and government in St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York.

Richard H. Heindel, professional staff associate with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has accepted an appointment in the Washington office of the Social Science Research Council as executive associate. Before coming to Washington, Dr. Heindel was a member of the department of history of the University of Pennsylvania.

Walter M. Simon has been appointed instructor in history in Stanford University.

D. G. Brinton Thompson has been promoted to associate professor of history in Trinity College, Hartford.

John W. Davidson has been appointed lecturer in history in Vassar College.

Clarence T. Gilham has been promoted to associate professor of history in Western Reserve University.

In Williams College Charles R. Keller is now chairman of the department of history, Robert C. L. Scott has been promoted to associate professor of history and named dean of freshmen, Robert G. L. Waite has been appointed assistant professor of history, and S. Cushing Strout, jr., has been appointed instructor in English and history.

In the University of Wisconsin Chester Easum is now chairman of the department of history, Howard K. Beale is in Washington, D. C., on a year's leave to work on his study of Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive era; Robert Lee Wolff is also on a year's leave, for the first semester to teach at Harvard and for the second to do research under a fellowship awarded him by Brown University; and Charles Morley, of the Ohio State University, is visiting professor of Russian history.

Yale University announces that Ralph E. Turner, professor of history, is on leave of absence to do research, under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation, in China, India, and the Middle and Near East. Thomas C. Mendenhall, associate professor of history, holds the Oxford Evacuation Fellowship to do research in history at Oxford. Archibald S. Foord, assistant professor, is on leave as a Guggenheim Fellow to do research at London. Appointed instructors in history are R. Glynn Mays, jr., Howard R. Lamar, James E. Roohan, jr., and Thomas W. Palmer, jr. Thomas G. Manning has been awarded a grant by the Geological Society of America to complete his study of the "History of the U. S. Geological Survey." Ralph H. Gabriel and A. Whitney Griswold have been appointed chairman and director of graduate studies, respectively, in American Studies.

## RECENT DEATHS

David Maydole Matteson, the distinguished indexer and map maker, died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on October 13, 1949, following a major operation. He was born on April 18, 1871, in California, the son of a Forty-niner who had migrated from Ohio. He was graduated from the University of California in 1892, took a second bachelor's degree at Harvard in 1893, and achieved his master's degree in 1896. But he could go no further with his studies because an accident while cycling during his second year at Harvard deprived him of his hearing. He then turned to indexing, which by his meticulous scholarship he raised to the level of a new profession. Men like Professors Hart and Channing, J. Franklin Jameson and James Ford Rhodes set his feet on this path and gave him opportunities to do both indexing and historical research. The publications of the George Washington bicentennial year brought him to Washington and made him as familiar a figure in the Library of Congress as he had long been in the Harvard library. The ghost writing of textbooks in American history proved an even more profitable pursuit than indexing. For years before his death he had been compiling as a labor of love a consolidated index to the many volumes of the *Writings on American History* (1902-38). He refused payments and before his death assigned to the American Historical Association the fund that had been held as his compensation. His labors on this index were his last and fortunately were so near completion that it will appear in due time. It will be a lasting memorial to a great scholar and an indispensable tool for all other scholars in American history for years to come.

Shut off from the world by his total deafness, Mr. Matteson lived the life of a scholar appreciated by the few who knew him intimately and found him a gentle, self-effacing companion both in conversation and in cheerful letters. His handicap did not prevent him from traveling widely in Europe, China, and Japan. He was the last of his family and perhaps the last of his kind. The American Historical Association is the sole beneficiary named in his will, and the income of the David Maydole Matteson Fund will carry forward his name and the tasks which engaged his interests while he lived.

On October 2, on the eve of departing for the Near East upon an important scholarly mission, John L. LaMonte, Henry Charles Lea professor of medieval history at the University of Pennsylvania, was suddenly stricken and died without regaining consciousness. Professor LaMonte was still a young man and his life, already marked by unusual achievement, held great promise of much further accomplishment. He was born at Columbus, Ohio, in 1902, graduated from Ohio State University in 1923, and finished his doctorate at Harvard six years later. He occupied academic posts at the universities of Nebraska, Minnesota, and Cincinnati and was awarded fellowships by the Social Science Research Council and the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. In 1940 he went to the University of Pennsylvania. His career there was interrupted by service in the Pacific as a naval officer in the recent war.

In the realm of scholarship he was an authority on the history of the crusades and was engaged in editing an elaborate and comprehensive history of these great expeditions which he and scholars from all over the Western and Moslem world were to write. He had already written well and effectively in this field and was planning to contribute much more. As a teacher he had an infectious enthusiasm, a comprehensive and original view of his subject, and a capacity for organization and presentation which made his work extremely popular and educationally of great value. He conceived of teaching as involving a real personal responsibility toward his students; he devoted endless time and energy outside the classroom to the encouragement and stimulation of young minds. His last published work, a textbook entitled *The World of the Middle Ages*, was written under all the disadvantages of ill health. It provided a new and stimulating approach to the study of medieval times which is breaking new ground.

None of the many who knew him well will probably ever forget his capacity for friendship and companionship, his interest in his colleagues and his students, his ready enthusiasm for ideas and causes, his unselfish willingness to spend and be spent in the many needs which appealed to his generous nature. Had he spared himself he would have lived the longer but it would have been at the expense of limits upon the completeness of life which he could not bring himself to set.

Aage Friis, professor of history in the University of Copenhagen and an honorary member of the American Historical Association, died in Hellerup, Denmark, on October 5, 1949, after a brief illness. He was in his eightieth year. He was not only one of Denmark's ablest and most productive historians but an ardent and constructive promoter of inter-Scandinavian and international historical enterprises. His doctoral thesis on A. P. Bernstorff and Ove H. Guldberg (1899) was followed by his two volumes on *Bernstorfferne og Danmark* (1903, 1919), and by an impressive three-volume documentary collection of *Bernstorffske Papirer* (1904, 1907, 1913), described by Halvdan Koht as "a remarkable international gallery" (review in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XV, 597). After a term as adviser to the foreign office on the Slesvig question and as its press liaison official (1907-13), he was made professor of modern history in 1913. From then on, his main work as historian centered in that—for Denmark—most important problem in foreign relations. His visits to foreign and domestic archives, public and private, provided him with a tremendous mass of pertinent documents on Danish-German relations for the years 1864-1879. On this solid basis he wrote three volumes on *Den Danske Regering og Nordslesvigs Genforening med Danmark* (1921, 1939, 1948), and was working on the fourth and final volume at the end. He followed the five volumes of *The North Slesvig Question 1864-1879* (1921-48), which provided extensive documentation for the government's policies, with three volumes of documents on *Europe, Denmark, and North Slesvig 1864-1879* (1939, 1945, 1948), which threw the question into focus as a European problem (cf. review in *Am.*

*Hist. Rev.*, LIV, 593). He and his collaborator, Povl Bagge, had planned a fourth volume for 1949. As editor of semipopular historical works he will be remembered for his *History of the Danish People*, and its successor, Schultz' *Danmarks Historie* (ed. by Friis, Linvald, and Mackeprang), *Verdenskulturen*, and *Det Nittende Aarhundrede*, as well as for his editions of A. F. Krieger's diary and of Krieger's correspondence with Fru Heiberg.

Friis exerted a deep influence on his students, many of whom have won distinction as historians. His organizing ability found expression in his work for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, the Danish Institute of History and Social Economics, the investigation of Russian public archives undertaken with other northern scholars, the work he led for the Danish Academy in listing and collecting for public depositories manuscript materials of historical value in private possession, and in the pre-World War II years in his work as head of the Danish Committee for Refugee Intellectuals. He was active in Danish political life, and he followed the world situation with concern and keen interest. He was a sincere and forthright man who never hesitated in meeting an issue head on. His many friends, American and European, will recall the genial hospitality of his home, where kindred spirits were wont to gather under his guidance for lively and profitable conversation. The impact of Aage Friis's life on his country and beyond it will be felt for a long time to come.

William J. Wilgus, a life member of the Association, died in Claremont, New Hampshire, October 24. Colonel Wilgus was eighty-three years old. His long and distinguished career in railroad engineering and management was interrupted by the First World War, when he served as a consultant to Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo in managing the nation's railroads. For this he received the Distinguished Service Medal. Besides papers in his own technical field he had made contributions to history in a study of the *Role of Transportation in the Development of Vermont* and a biography of Captain Stewart Dean, a character of the American Revolution.

Oswald Garrison Villard, the well-known publicist and author, died in New York, October 1, at the age of seventy-seven. In addition to his many years as editor of the *Nation* and the *New York Evening Post*, he turned out many controversial pamphlets and several books. He was the author of a life of John Brown. His own autobiography was entitled, characteristically and properly, *Fighting Years: Memoirs of a Liberal Editor*. He had been a member of the American Historical Association for many years.

George A. Hill, jr., president of the San Jacinto Museum of History, Texas, died November 2 at the age of fifty-seven. He was recently active in supporting the First Congress of Historians of Mexico and the United States at Monterrey.

# THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Founded in 1884

Chartered by Congress in 1889

## *Principal Office*

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS ANNEX, STUDY ROOM 274, Washington 25, D. C.

MEMBERSHIP, DECEMBER, 1949: 5511. Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership.

MEETINGS: An annual meeting with a three-day program is held in the last days of each year. Election of officers is by ballot of the membership.

The Association maintains close relations with the state and local historical societies through conferences at the annual meetings. The Pacific Coast Branch holds meetings in December on the Pacific Coast.

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